W. Dolle-F

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Reliquiæ Wottonianæ:

OR, A

COLLECTION

Of { LIVES, LETTERS, POEMS;

WITH

CHARACTERS

OF

Sundry PERSONAGES:

And other Incomparable PIECES of LANGUAGE and ART.

Also Additional Letters to several Persons, not before Printed.

BY THE

Curious Pencil of the Ever Memorable

Sir *HENRY WOTTON* K^t.

Late Provost of *Eaton Colledge.*

The Third *Edition*, with large *Additions.*

LONDON,

Printed by *T. Roycroft*, for *R. Marriott*, *F. Tyton*, *T. Collins*, and *J. Ford*, 1672.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
PHILIP
EARL of *Chesterfield*,
Lord *Stanhop* of *Shelford*.

My Lord,

I HAVE conceived many Reasons, why I ought in Justice to Dedicate these Reliques of Your Great Uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, to Your Lordship; some of which are, that both Your Grand-mother and Mother had a double Right to them by a Dedication when first made Publick; as also, for their assisting me then, and since, with many Ma-

terial Informations for the Writing his Life; and for giving me many of the Letters that have fallen from his curious Pen: so that they being now dead, these Reliques descend to You as Heir to them, and the Inheritor of the memorable Boston Palace, the Place of his Birth, where so many of the Ancient, and Prudent, and Valiant Family of the Wottons lie now Buried, whose remarkable Monuments You have lately Beautified, and to them added so many of so great Worth, (as hath made it appear) that in the Erecting and Adorning them, You were above the thought of Charge, that they might, if possible, (for it was no rash undertaking) hold some proportion with the Merits of Your Ancestors.

My Lord, These are a part of many more Reasons that have inclin'd me to this Dedication; and these, with the Example of a Liberty that is not given, but now too usually taken by many Scribblers, to make trifling Dedica-

dications, might have begot a boldneſs in ſome Men of as mean as my mean Abilities to have undertaken this. But indeed, my Lord, *though I was ambitious enough of undertaking it; yet, as* Sir Henry Wotton *hath ſaid in a Piece of his own Character,* That he was condemn'd by Nature to a baſhfulneſs in making Requeſts: *ſo I find my ſelf* (pardon the Parallel) *ſo like him in this, that if I had not had more Reaſons then I have yet expreſt, theſe alone had not been powerful enough to have created a Confidence in me to have attempted it. Two of my unexpreſt Reaſons are,* (give me leave to tell them to Your Lordſhip and the World) *that* Sir Henry Wotton, *whoſe many Merits made him an Ornament even to Your Family, was yet ſo humble, as to acknowledge me to be his Friend; and died in a belief that I was ſo: ſince which time, I have made him the beſt return of my Gratitude for his Condeſcention, that I have*

been able to express, or be capable of receiving: and, am pleased with my self for so doing.

My other Reason of this boldness, is, an incouragement (very like a command) *from Your worthy Cousin, and my Friend*, Mr. Charles Cotton, *who hath assured me, that You are such a Lover of the Memory of Your Generous Unkle*, Sir Henry Wotton, *that if there were no other Reason then my endeavors to preserve it, yet, that that alone would secure this Dedication from being unacceptable.*

I wish, that nor he, nor I be mistaken; and that I were able to make You a more Worthy Present.

My Lord, *I am and will be*

Your Humble and most

Feb. 27. 1672.

Affectionate Servant,

Izaak Walton.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

YOu may be pleas'd to take notice, that in this last Relation of Sir *Henry Wotton's* Life, 'tis both inlarg'd, and some small errors rectified; so that I may now be confident, there is no material mistakes in it.

There is in this Impression an Addition of many Letters; in which, the spirit with which they were writ, will assure them to be Sir *Henry Wotton's*.

For his Merits, they are above my expressions; and, for that reason, the Reader is requested to take to what I have said of him in his Life, these following Testimonies:

I. That his Work of *Architecture* is Translated into Latin, Printed with the Great *Vitruvius*, and this Elogy prefixed,

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS *Anglo Cantianus, Thomæ Optimi Viri Filius natu minimus à Serenissimo Jacobo* I. MAGNÆ BRITTA-

TANIÆ, &c. *Rege, in Equestrem Titulum ascitus; ejusdémque ter ad Remp.* VENETAM *Legatus Ordinarius; semel ad Confœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio; bis ad Carolum Emanuelem Sabaudiæ Ducem; semel ad unitos Superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunnensi; postremò ad Archiducem* Leopoldum, *Ducem* Wirtenbergensem, *civitates Imperiales Argentinam Ulmámque, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum* II. *Legatus extraordinarius; Tandem hoc didicit,*

ANIMAS SAPIENTIORES FIERI QUIESCENDO.

II. The second testimony is that of the great Secretary of Nature, the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, who thought it not beneath Him to collect some of the Apothegms and sayings of this Author.

III. Sir *Richard Baker* in his Chronicle of *England* sets to his Seal also in a passage, thus; (speaking of men of Note in King *James* his time)....Sir *Henry Wotton* was sent Ambassador into *Italy*...and indeed the Kingdome yielded not a fitter man to match the Capriciousnes of the *Italian* wits. A man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom a great deal more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

AN

AN ACCOUNT
Of the WORK.

NOw of the *Work* it self, Thou shalt find in it many curious things about

Architecture.
Picture.
Sculpture.
Landskip.
Magnetical experiments.
Gardens.
Fountains.
Groves.
Aviaries.
Conservatories of rare beasts.
Fish-ponds.

And also many Observations of the Mysteries and Labyrinths in *Courts* and *States*, delivered in *Lives*, *Letters* to, and *Characters* of sundry Persons: As,

Observations and *Characters* (which He took in his Imployments abroad) of these Dukes of *Venice*:

Giovanni Bembo.
Priuli.
Giustiniano.
Nani.
Donato.
Ferdin. Gr. Duke of Tuscany.

An Account *of* Foscarini.

Of the *Arch-Duke* Leopold Of *Count* Tampire.

Artists and Famous men mentioned.

Tyco-brahe.
Kepler.
Count Bevilacqua.
Leon Alberti.

Aldro-

Aldrovandus.
Albert Durer.
Palladio.
Philip D'Orme.
Anto. Labaca cenſured
Michael Angelo B.
Sir Henry Fanſhaw.

Obſervations (at home) of the Courts of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charls*, with *Lives* and *Characters* of

Earl of Eſſex.
Duke of Buckingham.
Of K. Charles *I.*

Characters and Obſervations of

Queen Elizabeth.
L. of Eſſex Father.
E. of Leiceſter.
E. of Eſſex Imployments.
Arch. B. Whitgift.
M. Anthony Bacon.
Sir Robert Cecil.
The Cecillians.
Walter Devereux.
Sir Philip Sidney.
Sir Walter Raleigh.
Secretary Cuff.
Of *K. James.*
K. Charles.
Q. Mary.
Q. of Bohemia.
Duke of Buckingham.
Spaniſh Journey.
L. Bacon.
L. Treaſurer Weſton.
L. Treaſurer Juxton.
Bp. Bedel.
Iſle of Rhee.
Of the *Dukes Ominous preſages.*
Counteſs of Denbigh.
Arch. Biſhop.
B. of Ely.
Part of the *Authors own Character.*

Cenſures of

Felton.
D. Eggleſham.
Stamford.
Scioppius.

THE

THE LIFE OF Sir *HENRY WOTTON.*

SIR *Henry Wotton* (whose Life I now intend to write) was born in the Year of our Redemption 1568. in *Bocton-hall*, (commonly called *Bocton*, or *Bougton*-place, or Palace) in the Parish of *Bocton Malherb*, in the fruitful Country of *Kent*: *Bocton-hall* being an *ancient* and *goodly Structure*, beautifying, and being beautified by the Parish Church of *Bocton Malherb* adjoyning unto it; and both seated within a fair Park of the *Wottons*, on the Brow of such a *Hill*, as gives the advantage of a large Prospect, and of equal *pleasure* to all Beholders.

But this House and Church are not remarkable for any thing so much, as for that the memorable Family of the *Wottons* have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many *Monuments* in that Church: the *Wottons* being a Family that hath brought forth divers Persons eminent for Wisdom and Valour; whose Heroick Acts, and Noble Employments, both in *England*

England and in Foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this Nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their Negotiations with several Princes; and also served at home with much Honour and Justice, in their wise managing a great part of the Publick Affairs thereof, in the various times both of War and Peace.

But, lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this Truth, not to have observed *moderation* in the commendation of this Family: and also, for that I believe the *merits* and *memory* of such Persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every Reader, out of the testimony of their *Pedegree*, and our *Chronicles*, a part (and but a part) of that just Commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent Reader to judge, whether my error be an *excess* or *defect* of Commendations.

Sir *Robert Wotton* of *Bocton Malherb* Knight, was born about the Year of Christ 1460: he living in the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of *Guisnes*, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of *Callais*, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir *Edward Wotton* of *Bocton Malherb* Knight, (Son and Heir of the said Sir *Robert*) was born in the Year of Christ 1489, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh: he was made Treasurer of *Callais*, and of the Privy Councel to King *Henry* the Eight, who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of *England*; but (saith **Hollinshed*) out of a virtuous modesty he refused it.

* *In his Chronicle.*

Thomas

Thomas Wotton of *Bolton Malherb* Esquire, Son and Heir of the said Sir *Edward*, (and the Father of our Sir *Henry*, that occasions this Relation) was born in the Year of Christ 1521: he was a Gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the *Liberal Arts*, in the knowledge whereof, he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very Noble and plentiful Estate, and the ancient Interest of his *Predecessors*) many invitations from Queen *Elizabeth* to change his Country Recreations and Retirement for a Court-offering him a Knight-hood, (she vvas then vvith him at his *Boltonhall*) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under Her; yet he humbly refused both, being *a man of great modesty*, of a most *plain and single heart*, of *an ancient freedom*, *and integrity of mind*. A commendation which Sir *Henry Wotton* took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the Son of such a Father: From whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This *Thomas* was also remarkable for Hospitality, a great Lover, and much beloved of his Country; to which may justly be added, that he was a Cherisher of *Learning*, as appears by that excellent Antiquary Mr. *William Lambert*, in his Perambulation of *Kent*.

This *Thomas* had four Sons, Sir *Edward*, Sir *James*, Sir *John*, and Sir *Henry*.

Sir *Edward* was Knighted by Queen *Elizabeth*, and made Comptroller of Her Majesties Houshold. He was (saith *Cambden*) a man remarkable for many and great Employments in the State, during Her Reign,

Reign, and sent several times *Ambassador* into Foreign Nations. After Her death, he was by King *James* made Comptroller of his Houshold, and called to be of His Privy Councel, and by him advanced to be *Lord Wotton*, *Baron* of *Merley* in *Kent*, and made Lord Lieutenant of that County.

Sir *James* (the second Son) may be numbred among the Martial Men of his Age, who was in the 38 of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign (with *Robert Earl* of *Sussex*, *Count Lodowick* of *Nassaw*, *Don Christopher*, Son of *Antonio* King of *Portugal*, and divers other Gentlemen of Nobleness and Valour) Knighted in the Field near *Cadiz* in *Spain*, after they had gotten great Honour and Riches, besides a notable retaliation of Injuries by taking that Town.

Sir *John*, being a Gentleman excellently accomplished, both by Learning and Travel, was Knighted by Queen *Elizabeth*, and by Her look'd upon with more then ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but Death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir *Henry*, my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named *Wottons* were all in a direct Line; and most of them and their actions, in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir *Nicholas Wotton*, (who lived in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several Ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention *Nicholas Wotton*, the fourth Son of Sir *Robert*, whom I first named.

This *Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law*, and some-time

time *Dean* both of *York* and *Canterbury*: a man vvhom God did not only bleſs vvith a long life, but vvith great abilities of mind, and an inclination to imploy them in the ſervice of his Countrey, as is teſtified by his ſeverall Imployments; * having been ſent nine times *Ambaſſador* unto forraign Princes; and by his being a Privy-*Councellor* to King *Henry* the eighth, to *Edward* the ſixth, to Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*; vvho alſo, after he had been during the Wars between *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, three ſeveral times (and not unſucceſsfully) imployed in Committies for ſetling of peace betwixt this and thoſe Kingdomes, died (ſaith learned *Cambden*) *full of Commendations for Wiſdome and Piety.*---He vvas alſo by the Will of King *Henry* the eighth, made one of his Executors, and chief *Secretary* of State to his Son, that pious Prince *Edward* the ſixth.---Concerning which *Nicholas Wotton*, I ſhall ſay but this little more; That he refuſed (being offered it by Queen *Elizabeth*) to be * *Arch-biſhop* of *Canterbury*, and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the diſſolution of *Abbeys*.

*Cambden *in his* Britannia.

* *Hollinſhed.*

More might be added: but by this it may appear, that Sir *Henry Wotton*, vvas a Branch of ſuch a kindred as left a Stock of Reputation to their Poſterity; ſuch Reputation, as might kindle a generous emulation in ſtrangers, and preſerve a noble ambition in thoſe of his Name and Family, to perform Actions vvorthy of their Anceſtors.

And, that Sir Henry Wotton *did ſo, might appear more perfectly then my Pen can expreſs it, if of his many ſurviving friends, ſome one of higher parts and imploy-*

*ment, had been pleased to have commended his to Posterity; But, since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it; my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed requeſt of some * that ſtill live ſolicitous to ſee this duty performed; theſe, have had a power to perſwade me to undertake it; which, truly, I have not done, but with ſome diſtruſt of mine own Abilities, and yet ſo far from deſpair, that I am modeſtly confident my humble language ſhall be accepted, becauſe I ſhall preſent all Readers with a Commixture of truth, and Sir* Henry Wotton's *merits.*

* *Sir* Edward Biſh *Clarentieux King of Arms*, *M.* Charls Cotton, *and, Mr.* Nick Oudert *ſometime Sir* Hen. Wotton's *Servant.*

This being premiſed, I proceed to tell the Reader, that the Father of Sir *Henry Wotton* vvas twice married, firſt to *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of Sir *John Rudſtone* Knight; after vvhoſe death, though his inclination vvas averſe to all Contentions; yet, neceſſitated he vvas to ſeveral Suits in Law: In the proſecution vvhereof, (vvhich took up much of his time, and vvere the occaſion of many Diſcontents) he vvas by divers of his friends earneſtly perſwaded to a *re-marriage*; to vvhom he as often anſwered, That if ever he did put on a reſolution to marry, *he was ſeriouſly reſolved to avoid three ſorts of perſons*:

namely, thoſe { that had *Children.* / that had *Law-ſuits.* / that vvere of his *Kindred.*

And yet, following his own Law-ſuits, he met in *Weſtminſter-hall* vvith Mrs. *Elionora Morton*, Widow to *Robert Morton* of *Kent* Eſq; vvho vvas alſo

also engaged in several Suits in Law: and, he observing her Comportment at the time of hearing one of her Causes before the Judges, could not but at the same time, both compassionate her Condition, and affect her Person: (for, *the tears of Lovers*, or *Beauty dreſt in ſadneſs*, are obſerv'd to have in them a Charming Eloquence; and, to become very often too ſtrong to be reſiſted) which I mention, becauſe it prov'd ſo with this *Thomas Wotton*, for although there were in her a concurrence of all thoſe accidents, againſt which he had ſo ſeriouſly reſolved; yet, his affection to her grew then ſo ſtrong, that he reſolved to ſolicite her for a Wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the Daughter of Sir *William Finch* of *Eaſtwell* in *Kent*) he had only *Henry* his youngeſt Son.--His Mother undertook to be Tutoreſs unto him during much of his Childhood; for whoſe care and pains, he paid her each day with ſuch viſible ſigns of future perfection in Learning, as turned her imployment into a pleaſing-trouble: which ſhe was content to continue, till his Father took him into his own particular care, and diſpoſed of him to a Tutor in his own Houſe at *Boſton*.

And, when time and diligent inſtruction, had made him fit for a removal to an higher Form, (which was very early) he was ſent to *Winchester-School*: a place of ſtrict Diſcipline and Order: that ſo, he might in his youth be moulded into a Method of living by Rule, which his wiſe Father knew to be the moſt neceſſary way, to make the future part of his life, both happy to himſelf, and uſefull for the diſcharge of all buſineſs, whether publick or private.

And, that he might be confirmed in this *regularity*, he was at a fit age removed from that *School*, to be a Commoner of *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*; both being founded by *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*.

There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his Age: and was then transplanted into *Queens-Colledge*; where within that year, he was by the chief of that Colledge, perswasively injoyned to write a Play for their private use: (it was the Tragedy of *Tancredo*) which was so interwoven with Sentences, and for the Method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the graveſt of that society declared, he had in a sleight imployment, given an early, and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And, though there may be some sowr dispositions, which may think this not worth a *memorial*; yet, that wise Knight *Baptista Guarini* (whom learned *Italy* accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable imployment for his Age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his Age, he proceeded Master of *Arts*; and at that time read in Latine three Lectures *de Oculo*: wherein, he having described the *Form*, the *Motion*, the curious *composure* of the *Eye*: and, demonstrated, how of those very many, every *humour* and *nerve* performs its distinct Office, so as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this, to the advantage of man, to whom the *Eye* is given, not only as the Bodies guide, but, whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the Soul,

Soul, this, in an inſtant apprehends and warns him of *danger*: teaching him in the very *eyes* of others to diſcover *wit*, *folly*, *love*, and *hatred*: After he had made theſe Obſervations he fell to diſpute this Optique Queſtion, *Whether we ſee by the Emiſſion of the Beams from within, or Reception of the Species from without?* and, after that, and many other like learned diſquiſitions, he in the Concluſion of his *Lectures*, took a fair occaſion to beautifie his Diſcourſe with a Commendation of the bleſſing and benefit of *Seeing*: *By which, we do not only diſcover* Natures Secrets: *but, with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of ſeeing) behold the great light of the* World, *and by it, diſcover the Fabrick of the* Heavens, *and both the Order and Motion of the* Celeſtial Orbs; *nay, that if the* eye *look but downward, it may rejoyce to behold the boſome of the* Earth, *our common Mother*, embroidered *and* adorned *with numberleſs and various* Flowers, *which man ſees daily grow up to perfection, and then, ſilently moralize his own condition, who in a ſhort time (like thoſe very* Flowers) decayes, withers, *and quickly returns again to that* Earth, *from which both had their firſt being.*

Theſe were ſo exactly debated, and ſo Rhetorically heightned, as, among other admirers, cauſed that learned *Italian*, *Albericus Gentilis* (then Profeſſor of the *Civil Law* in *Oxford*) to call him *Hennice mi volle*; which dear expreſſion of his, was alſo uſed by divers of Sir *Henry*'s deareſt Friends, and by many other perſons of Note, during his ſtay in the Univerſity.

But his ſtay there was not long; at leaſt, not ſo long as his Friends once intended: for, the year after Sir *Henry* proceeded Maſter of Arts, his Father (whom Sir *Henry* did never mention without

this, or some like reverential expression; as, *That good man my Father*; or, *My Father the best of men*:) about that time, this good man changed this for a better life; leaving to Sir *Henry*, as to his other younger Sons, a Rent-charge of an hundred Mark a year, to be paid for ever, out of some one of his Mannors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a Circumstance or two that concern him, may not be buried without a Relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose, they may so much concern the Reader to know, that I may promise my self a pardon for a short Digression.

IN the year of our Redemption, 1553. *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* (whom I formerly mentioned) being then Ambassador in *France*, dream'd, that his Nephew, this *Thomas Wotton*, was inclined to be a party in such a project, as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruine of his *Family*.

Doubtless, the good Dean did well know, that common Dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts; or, of the business of the day past; or, are the result of our over engaged affections, when we betake our selves to rest; and knew that the observation of them, may turn to silly Superstitions; as they too often do: But, though he might know all this, and, might also believe that Prophesies are ceased; yet, doubtless he could not but consider, that all Dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration: and did therefore rather lay this Dream aside, then intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the Night following, when it became a double

double Dream, like that of *Pharaoh* (of which double dreams, the learned have made many observations) and considering that it had no dependance on his vvaking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then, he did more seriously consider it; and, remembred that

Almighty God vvas pleased in a Dream to reveal and to assure * *Monica* the Mother of St. *Austin*, *that he, her Son for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so much should at last become a Christian:* This I believe, the good Dean considered; and, considering also, that Almighty God (though the causes of Dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain *illumination* of the Soul in sleep, discovered many things that humane vvisdome could not foresee: Upon these considerations, he resolved to use so prudent a remedy by vvay of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his Nephew. And to that end, he vvrote to the *Queen* ('twas Queen *Mary*) and besought her, *That she would cause his Nephew* Thomas Wotton, *to be sent for out of* Kent: *and, that the Lords of her Council might interrogate him in some such feigned Questions, as might give a colour for his Commitment into a favourable* Prison; *declaring, that he would acquaint her Majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see, and speak to her Majesty.*

'Twas done as the *Dean* desired: and in Prison I must leave Mr. *Wotton*, till I have told the Reader vvhat followed.

* *St.* Austin's *Confession.*

At this time a Marriage vvas concluded betwixt our *Queen Mary*, and *Philip King* of *Spain*: And though this vvas concluded vvith the advice, if not

by the perſwaſion of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this Nation: yet, divers perſons of a contrary perſwaſion, did not only declare againſt it, but alſo raiſed Forces to oppoſe it; believing (as they ſaid) it would be a means to bring *England* to be under a ſubjection to *Spain*, and make thoſe of this Nation ſlaves to *Strangers*.

And of this number Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Boxley-Abbey* in *Kent* (betwixt whoſe Family, and the Family of the *Wottons*, there had been an ancient and entire friendſhip) was the principal Actor; who having perſwaded many of the Nobility and Gentry (eſpecially of *Kent*) to ſide with him, and he being defeated, and taken Priſoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and loſt his life: So did the Duke of *Suffolk*, and divers others, eſpecially many of the Gentry of *Kent*, who were there in ſeveral places executed as *Wyat*'s aſſiſtants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. *Wotton* been, if he had not been confin'd: for, though he could not be ignorant that *another mans Treaſon, makes it mine by concealing it*; yet, he durſt confeſs to his Uncle, when he returned into *England*, and then came to viſit him in Priſon, *that he had more then an intimation of* Wyat's *intentions*; and, thought he had not continued actually *innocent*, if his Uncle had not ſo happily dream'd him into a *Priſon*; out of which place, when he was delivered by the ſame hand that cauſed his Commitment, they both conſidered the Dream more ſeriouſly; and then, both joyned in praiſing God for it;

That God, who tyes himſelf to no Rules, either in preventing of evil, or in ſhewing of mercy to thoſe, whom of good pleaſure he hath choſen to love.

And

And this Dream was the more conſiderable, becauſe that God who in the dayes of old did uſe to ſpeak to his people in viſions, did ſeem to ſpeak to many of this Family in dreams: of which I will alſo give the Reader one ſhort particular of this *Thomas Wotton*, whoſe dreams did uſually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and diſcovering things paſt: And, the particular is this; This *Thomas*, a little before his death, dream'd that the *Univerſity Treaſury* was robbed by *Townſmen*, and poor *Scholars*; and, that the number was five: And being that day to write to his Son *Henry* at *Oxford*, he thought it worth ſo much pains, as by a Poſtſcript in his Letter, to make a ſlight enquiry of it; the Letter (which was writ out of *Kent*, and dated three dayes before) came to his Sons hands the very morning after the night in which the Robbery was committed; and when the City and Univerſity were both in a perplext Enqueſt of the Thieves, then did Sir *Henry Wotton* ſhew his Fathers Letter, and by it ſuch *light* was given of this work of *darkneſs*, that the five guilty perſons were preſently diſcovered, and apprehended, without putting the *Univerſity* to ſo much trouble, as the caſting of a *Figure*.

And it may yet be more conſiderable, that this *Nicholas* and *Thomas Wotton* ſhould both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to faſting and prayer) foreſee and foretell the very dayes of their own death: *Nicholas* did ſo, being then Seventy years of age, and in perfect health. *Thomas* did the like in the ſixty fifth year of his age; who being then in *London* (where he dyed.) and foreſeeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his Body ſhould be carried to *Boſton*; and, though

though he thought his Uncle *Nicholas* worthy of that noble Monument which he built for him in the *Cathedral Church* of *Canterbury*; yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his Funeral. This is some account of this Family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more then time that I return to Sir *Henry Wotton* at *Oxford*; where, after his optick Lecture, he was taken into such a bosome friendship with the Learned *Albericus Gentilis* (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible, *Gentilis* would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the *Mathematicks* and *Law*, into the breast of his dear *Harry* (for so *Gentilis* used to call him:) and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir *Henry* such a propensity and connaturalness to the *Italian* Language, and those Studies whereof *Gentilis* was a great Master, that this friendship between them did dayly increase, and proved dayly advantagious to Sir *Henry*, for the improvement of him in several Sciences, during his stay in the University.

From which place, before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a forelgn Nation, though I must omit to mention divers Persons that were then in *Oxford*, of memorable note for Learning, and Friends to Sir *Henry Wotton*; yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. *Donne* (sometimes Dean of St. *Pauls*) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this *Nation*, and pretends to Learning or Ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. *Donne*, deserves not to know him.

him. The friendſhip of theſe two I muſt not omit to mention, being ſuch a friendſhip as vvas generouſly elemented: And as it vvas begun in their Youth, and in an Univerſity, and there maintained by correſpondent Inclinations and Studies, ſo it laſted till Age and Death forced a Separation.

In *Oxford* he ſtayed till about two years after his Fathers death; at vvhich time, he vvas about the two and twentieth year of his Age: and having to his great Wit added the ballaſt of Learning, and knowledge of the Arts, he then laid aſide his Books, and betook himſelf to the uſeful Library of Travel; and a more general Converſation vvith Mankind; employing the remaining part of his Youth, his induſtry and fortune to adorn his mind, and to purchaſe the rich Treaſure of Foreign knowledge; of vvhich, both for the ſecrets of Nature, the diſpoſitions of many Nations, their ſeveral Laws and Languages, he vvas the poſſeſſor in a very large meaſure; as I ſhall faithfully make to appear, before I take my Pen from the following Narration of his Life.

In his Travels, vvhich vvas almoſt nine years before his return into *England*, he ſtayed but one year in *France*, and moſt of that in *Geneva*; vvhere he became acquainted vvith *Theodor Beza* (then very aged) and vvith *Iſaac Cauſabon*, in vvhoſe houſe (if I be rightly informed) Sir *Henry Wotton* vvas lodged, and there contracted a moſt worthy friendſhip vvith that man of rare Learning and Ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years vvere ſpent in *Germany*, the other five in *Italy*, (the Stage on vvhich God appointed he ſhould act a great part of his life) where both in *Rome*, *Venice* and *Florence*, he became

became acquainted with the most eminent men for Learning, and all manner of Arts; as *Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture,* and other manual Arts, even Arts of inferiour nature; of all which, he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge.

He returned out of *Italy* into *England* about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many, both for his person and comportment; for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most perswasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet Discourse, and Civilities, as gained him much love from all Persons with whom he entred into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his Youth to have a sharp Wit, and apt to jest; that, by Time, Travel, and Conversation, was so polish'd, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as *Robert* Earl of *Essex* (then one of the Darlings of Fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen *Elizabeth*) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries; the other being Mr. *Henry Cuffe*, sometimes of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford* (and there also the Acquaintance of Sir *Henry Wotton* in his Youth) Mr. *Cuffe* being then a man of no common note in the University for his Learning; nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind; nor indeed, for the *fatalness* of his end.

Sir *Henry Wotton* being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of *Essex*, did personally attend his Counsels and Employments in two Voyages at Sea against the *Spaniard*, and also in that (which was the Earls last) into *Ireland*; that Voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen

to

to anger, and worse at his return into *England*; upon whose immovable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes, as incouraged him to those undertakings, which with the help of a contrary Faction suddenly caused his Commitment to the Tower.

Sir *Henry Wotton* observing this, though he was not of that Faction (for the *Earls* Followers were also divided into their several interests) which incouraged the *Earl* to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him, and divers of his Confederation: yet, knowing *Treason* to be so comprehensive, as to take in even Circumstances, and out of them to make such positive Conclusions as subtle States-men shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of *England*, a better security then to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a *Prison*. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through *Kent* to *Dover*, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved *Bolton*; and was by the help of favourable winds, and liberal payment of the Mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from *London*, set upon the *French* shore; where he heard shortly after, that the *Earl* was Arraign'd, Condemned, and Beheaded; and that his Friend Mr. *Cuffe* was hang'd, and divers other Persons of Eminent Quality executed.

The Times did not look so favourably upon Sir *Henry Wotton*, as to invite his return into *England*; having therefore procured of Sir *Edward Wotton*, his elder Brother, an assurance that his Annuity should be paid him in *Italy*, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest,

tereſt; and indeed, his great content in a new converſation with his old Acquaintance in that Nation; and more particularly in *Florence*, (which City is not more eminent for the Great Dukes Court, then for the great recourſe of men of choiceſt note for Learning and Arts;) in which number he there met with his old Friend Signior *Vietta*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, and then taken to be *Secretary* to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

After ſome ſtay in *Florence*, he went the fourth time to viſit *Rome*, where in the *Engliſh Colledge* he had very many Friends (their humanity made them really ſo, though they knew him to be a diſſenter from many of their Principles of Religion;) and having enjoyed their company, and ſatisfied himſelf concerning ſome Curioſities that did partly occaſion his Journey thither, he returned back to *Florence*, where a moſt notable accident befel him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice Abilities, but introduce him a knowledg and an intereſt with our King *James*, then King of *Scotland*; which I ſhall proceed to relate.

But firſt, I am to tell the Reader, That though Queen *Elizabeth* (or ſhe and her Council) were never willing to declare her *Succeſſor*; yet *James* then King of the *Scots*, was confidently believed by moſt to be the man upon whom the ſweet trouble of Kingly Government would be impoſed; and the *Queen* declining very faſt, both by age and viſible infirmities, thoſe that were of the *Romiſh* perſwaſion in point of Religion (even *Rome* it ſelf, and thoſe of this Nation) knowing that the death of the *Queen*, and the eſtabliſhing of her *Succeſſor*, were taken to be *critical* days for deſtroying or eſtabliſhing the *Proteſtant* Religion in this Nation, did

did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed Her. And as the *Pope's* Excommunication of *Queen Elizabeth*, had both by the judgement and practice of the Jesuited Papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry Adversary, a * *secular Priest* against a *Jesuit*) you may believe, that about that time there were many indeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King *James*.

* Watson, *in his Quodlibets.*

Immediately after Sir *Henry Wotton's* return from *Rome* to *Florence*, (which was about a year before the death of Queen *Elizabeth*) *Ferdinand* the Great Duke of *Florence* had intercepted certain Letters that discovered a design to take away the life of *James* the then King of *Scots*. The Duke abhorring the Fact, and resolving to indeavor a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary *Vietta*, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir *Henry Wotton*, whom *Vietta* first commended to the *Duke*; and the *Duke* had noted and approved of above all the *English* that frequented his Court.

Sir *Henry* was gladly called by his Friend *Vietta* to the *Duke*, who after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into *Scotland* with Letters to the King, and with those Letters, such *Italian* Antidotes against poyson, as the *Scots* till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the *Duke*, he took up the Name and Language of an *Italian*; and thinking it best to avoid the line of *English* intelligence and danger, he posted into *Norway*, and through that Country

Country towards *Scotland*, where he found the King at *Sterling*; being there, he used means by *Bernard Lindsey*, one of the Kings Bed Chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty, assuring him, *That the business which he was to negotiate, was of such consequence, as had caused the Great Duke of* Tuscany *to enjoyn him suddenly to leave his Native Country of* Italy, *to impart it to his King.*

This being by *Bernard Lindsey* made known to the King, the King after a little wonder, (mixt with jealousie) to hear of an *Italian* Ambassador, or Messenger, required his Name, (which was said to be *Octavio Baldi*) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that Evening.

When *Octavio Baldi* came to the Presence-Chamber-door, he was requested to lay aside his long *Rapier* (which *Italian*-like he then wore) and being entred the Chamber, he found there with the King three or four *Scotch* Lords standing distant in several corners of the Chamber: at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, *bade him be bold, and deliver his Message; for he would undertake for the secresie of all that were present.* Then did *Octavio Baldi* deliver his Letters and his Message to the King in *Italian*; which, when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, *Octavio Baldi* steps to the Table, and whispers to the King in his own Language, that he was an *English* man, beseeching Him for a more private conference with His Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that Nation; which was promised, and really performed by the King during all his abode there, (which was about three Months) all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to *Octavio Baldi* himself, as that

that Countrey could afford; from which he departed as true an *Italian* as he came thither.

To the *Duke* at *Florence* he return'd with a fair and gratefull account of his imployment, and within some few Moneths after his return, there came certain News to *Florence*, that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead; and, *James* King of the *Scots* proclaimed King of *England*. The Duke knowing travel and business to be the best Schools of wisdom, and that Sir *Henry Wotton* had been tutor'd in both, advis'd him to return presently to *England*, and there joy the King with his new and better Title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better imployment.

When King *James* came into *England*, he found, amongst other of the late Queens Officers, Sir *Edward*, who was after Lord *Wotton*, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, *If he knew one* Henry Wotton, *that had spent much time in forreign Travel?* The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his Brother; then the *King* asking where he then was, was answered, at *Venice*, or *Florence*; but by late Letters from thence, he understood, he would suddenly be at *Paris*. *Send for him*, said the King, *and when he shall come into* England, *bid him repair privately to me.* The Lord *Wotton* after a little wonder, asked the King, *If he knew him?* to which the King answered, *You must rest unsatisfied of that, till you bring the Gentleman to me.*

Not many Moneths after this Discourse, the Lord *Wotton* brought his Brother to attend the King, who took him in His Arms, *and bade him welcome by the Name of* Octavio Baldi, *saying, he was the most honest, and therefore the best Dissembler that*

ever he met with: And said, *Seeing I know you neither want Learning, Travel, nor Experience, and that I have had so real a Testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an Ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter:* And indeed the King did so most of those two and twenty years of his Raign; but before he dismist *Octavio Baldi* from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old Name of *Henry Wotton*, by which he then Knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved, according to his Motto (*Beati pacifici*) to have a friendship with his Neighbour-Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*, and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an Alliance with the State of *Venice*, and to that end to send Ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these Imployments to Sir *Henry Wotton*; who considering the smallness of his own Estate (which he never took care to augment) and knowing the Courts of great Princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of *Venice*, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his *Genius*, who did ever love to joyn with Business, Study, and a tryal of natural Experiments; for both which fruitfull *Italy*, that *Darling of Nature, and Cherisher of all Arts, is so justly fam'd in all parts of the Christian World.*

Sir *Henry* having after some short time and consideration, resolved upon *Venice*, and a large allowance being appointed by the *King* for his voyage thither, and a setled maintenance during his stay there, he left *England*, nobly accompanied through *France* to *Venice*, by Gentlemen of the best Families and breeding that this Nation afforded; they

they were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons may not be omitted; Sir *Albertus Morton* his Nephew, who went his Secretary; and *William Bedel*, a man of choice Learning, and sanctified Wisdom, who went his Chaplain. And, though his dear friend Dr. *Donne* (then a private Gentleman) was not one of that number that did personally accompany him in this Voyage, yet the reading of this following Letter sent by him to Sir *Henry Wotton*, the morning before he left *England*, may testifie he wanted not his friends best wishes to attend him.

SIR,

AFter those reverend Papers, *whose soul is (name:*
Our good, and great Kings *lov'd hand, and fear'd*
By which to you he derives much of his,
And, how he may, makes you Almost the same;

A Taper *of his* Torch: *a Copy writ*
From his Original, and a fair Beam
Of the same warm and dazling Sun, *though it*
Must in another Sphear his vertue stream;

After those Learned Papers *which your hand*
Hath stor'd with notes of use *and* pleasure *too;*
From which rich treasury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write *or do:*

After these loving Papers *which Friends send*
With glad grief to your Sea-ward-steps farewel,
And thicken on you now as prayers *ascend*
To Heaven *on troops as a good mans* passing-Bell:

Admit this honeſt Paper; *and, allow*
It ſuch an audience as your ſelf would ask;
What you would ſay at Venice, *this ſayes now,*
And has for nature *what you have for* task.

To ſwear much love; *nor to be chang'd before*
Honour *alone will to your fortune fit;*
Nor, ſhall I then honour your fortune *more,*
Then I have done your honour-wanting-wit.

But 'tis an eaſier load (though both oppreſs)
To want, then govern greatneſs, *for we are*
In that, our own, and only buſineſs;
In this, we muſt for others vices care.

'Tis therefore well, your ſpirits now are plac'd
In their laſt furnace, in activity; (ore-pli
Which fits them: Schools, *and* Courts, *and* Wars
To touch and taſte in any beſt degree.

For me! (*if there be ſuch a thing as I*)
Fortune (*if there be ſuch a thing as ſhe*)
Finds that I bear ſo well her tyranny,
That ſhe thinks nothing elſe ſo fit for me.

But, though ſhe part us, to hear my oft prayers
For your encreaſe, *God is as near me here:*
And, to ſend you what I ſhall beg, his ſtairs
In length, *and* eaſe, *are alike every where.*

J. Donne.

SIR *Henry Wotton* was received by the State of *Venice*, with much honour and gladneſs, but fo

for that he delivered his Ambassage most elegantly in the *Italian* Language, and came also in such a Juncture of time, as his Masters friendship seem'd usefull for that Republick: the time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. *Leonardo Donato* being then Duke; a wise and resolv'd man, and to all purposes such (Sir *Henry Wotton* would often say it) as the State of *Venice* could not then have wanted; there having been formerly in the time of *Pope Clement* the eighth, some contests about the priviledges of Church-men, and the power of the Civil Magistrate; of which, for the information of common Readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603. the Republick of *Venice* made several Injunctions against Lay-persons giving Lands or Goods to the Church, without Licence from the Civil Magistrate; and in that inhibition, they expresst their reasons to be, *For that when any Goods or Land once came into the hands of the Ecclesiasticks, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof, (the Lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the Clergy grew every day more numerous, and, pretended an exemption from all* publick service, and Taxes; and from all secular Judgement: *so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be born by the Laity.*

Another occasion of difference was, That about this time complaints were justly made by the *Venetians* against two Clergy-men, the *Abbot of Nervesa*, and a *Canon of Vicenza*, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name; nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a Scandal upon any Calling; (for holiness is not tyed to Ecclesiastical Orders, and *Italy* is observed to breed the most

vertuous, and most vicious men of any Nation) these two having been long complained of at *Rome* in the Name of the State of *Venice*, and no satisfaction being given to the *Venetians*, they seized the persons of this *Abbot* and *Canon*, and committed them to prison.

The justice, or injustice of such or the like power, then used by the *Venetians*, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope *Clement* the Eighth, and that *Republick*; I say, calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering (as I conceive), that in the late *Council of Trent* it was at last (after many Politique disturbances, and delayes, and endeavours to preserve the Popes present power) in order to a general reformation of those many Errors, which were in time crept into the Church, declar'd by that Counsel, *That though* Discipline, *and especial* Excommunication *be one of the chief sinews of Church Government, and intended to keep men in obedience to it: for which end, it was declar'd to be very profitable; yet, it was also declar'd, and advised to be used with great sobriety and care: because experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly, or rashly, it became more contemn'd then fear'd.* And, though this was the advice of that Council at the Conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the *Venetians*: yet this prudent, patient Pope *Clement* dying, *Pope Paul* the fifth, who succeeded him, (though not immediately, yet in the same year) being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the *Venetians* to a much higher Contention: objecting those late acts of that State, to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty four dayes for their revocation; threatning,

ning, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to Excommunication of the *Republick*; who still offered to shew both reason and ancient custom to warrant their Actions. But this *Pope*, contrary to his Predecessors moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year; the Pope still threatning Excommunication, and the *Venetians* still answering him with fair speeches, and no complyance; till at last, the Popes zeal to the *Apostolick Sea*, did make him to excommunicate the *Duke*, the whole *Senate*, and all their Dominions; and that done to shut up all their *Churches*; charging the whole Clergy to forbear all sacred Offices to the *Venetians*, till their Obedience should render them capable of *Absolution*.

But this all of the Popes did but the more confirm the *Venetians* in their resolution not to obey him; *And to that end, upon the hearing of the Popes Interdict, they presently* published by sound *of Trumpet, a Proclamation to this effect*:

That whosoever hath received from Rome *any Copy of a Papal Interdict, publish'd there, as well against the Law of God, as against the Honour of this Nation, shall presently render it to the Councel of* Ten, *upon pain of Death.*

Then was *Duado* their Ambassador call'd home from *Rome*, and the *Inquisition* presently suspended by Order of the State; and, the Flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the *Pope*, either by free speaking, or by Libels in Print; and, both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightned, the State advised with Father *Paul*, a Holy and Learned Frier (the Author of the *History of the Council of Trent*) whose advice was, *Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose their own Right*: he declaring publickly in Print, in the name of the State, *That the Pope was trusted to keep two Keys; one of* Prudence, *and the other of* Power: *And that if they were not both used together,* Power *alone is not effectual in an Excommunication.*

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the *Venetians* were all turned *Protestants*: which was believed by many, for that it was observ'd, the *English* Ambassadour was so often in conference with the *Senate*, and his Chaplain Mr. *Bedel* more often with Father *Paul*, whom the People did not take to be his Friend: And also, for that the *Republick of Venice* was known to give Commission to *Gregory Justiniano*, then their Ambassadour in *England*, to make all these Proceedings known to the King of *England*, and to crave a Promise of his assistance, if need should require; and in the mean time they required the *King*'s advice and judgement; which was the same that he gave to *Pope Clement*, at his first coming to the Crown of *England*; (that Pope then moving him to an Union with the *Roman Church*) namely, *To endeavour the calling of a free Council, for the settlement of Peace in Christendom: and, that he doubted not, but that the French King, and divers other Princes would join to assist in so good a work; and, in the mean time, the sin of this Breach, both with His, and the* Venetians *Dominions, must of necessity lie at the Pope's door.*

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the *Pope* grew still higher, and the *Venetians* more

more and more resolv'd and careless: still acquainting King *James* with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir *Henry Wotton*, Mr. *Bedil*, and *Padre Paulo*, whom the *Venetians* did then call to be one of their Consulters of State, and with his Pen to defend their just Cause: which was by him so performed, that the *Pope* saw plainly, he had weakned his Power by exceeding it, and offered the *Venetians* Absolution upon very easie terms; which the *Venetians* still slighting, did at last obtain, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it: For, they made an order, that in that day in which they were Absolv'd, there should be no Publick Rejoycing, nor any *Bonfires* that night; lest the Common People might judge, that they desired an Absolution, or were Absolved for committing a Fault.

These Contests were the occasion of *Padre Paulo's* knowledge and interest with King *James*, for whose sake principally *Padre Paulo* compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Council of *Trent*; which History was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in Letters by Sir *Henry Wotton*, Mr. *Bedel*, and others, unto King *James*, and the then Bishop of *Canterbury*, into *England*, and there first made publick, both in *English* and in the universal Language.

For eight years after Sir *Henry Wotton's* going into *Italy*, he stood fair and highly valued in the Kings opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going Ambassadour into *Italy*, as he passed through *Germany*, he stayed some days at *Augusta*; where having been in his former Travels, well known by many of the best note for Learning

and

and Ingeniousness, (those that are esteemed the *Virtuosi* of that Nation) with whom he passing an evening in merriments, was requested by *Christopher Flecamore* to write some Sentence in his *Album*; (a Book of white Paper, which for that purpose many of the *German* Gentry usually carry about them) and Sir *Henry Wotton* consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present Company, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassadour, in these very words:

Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ.

Which Sir *Henry Wotton* could have been content should have been thus Englished:

An Embassadour is an honest man, sent to lie *abroad for the good of his Country.*

But the word for *lye* (being the hinge upon which the Conceit was to turn) was not so expresst in Latine, as would admit (in the hands of an Enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir *Henry* thought in *English*. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other Sentences in this *Album*, almost *eight years*, till by accident it fell into the hands of *Jasper Scioppius*, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious Pen: who with Books against King *James*, Prints this as a Principle of that Religion professed by the King, and his Ambassadour Sir *Henry Wotton*, then at *Venice*; and in *Venice* it was presently after written in several Glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir *Henry Wottons*.

This

This coming to the knowledge of King *James*, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a vveakness, or vvorse, in Sir *Henry Wotton*, as caused the King to express much vvrath against him: and this caused Sir *Henry Wotton* to write two Apologies, one to *Velserus* (one of the Chiefs of *Augusta*) in the universal Language, vvhich he caused to be Printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both of *Germany* and *Italy*, as an Antidote against the venomous Books of *Scioppius*; and another Apology to King *James*: vvhich vvere both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely Eloquent, that his Majesty (vvho vvas a pure Judge of it) could not forbear, at the receit thereof, to declare publickly, *That Sir* Henry Wotton *had committed sufficiently for a greater offence.*

And now, as broken bones vvell set become stronger; so Sir *Henry Wotton* did not only recover, but vvas much more confirmed in his Majesties estimation and favour then formerly he had been.

And as that Man of great Wit and useful Fancy (his Friend Dr. *Donne*) gave in a Will of his (a *Will of Conceits*) his *Reputation* to his *Friends*, and his *Industry* to his *Foes*, because from thence he received both: so those Friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir *Henry Wottons*, vvere to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those Acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grovv both more vvise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously vvatchful over his Tongue and Pen.

I have told you a part of his Employment in *Italy*, vvhere notwithstanding the death of his Favorer,

vorer, the Duke *Leonardo Donato*, vvho had an undiſſembled affection for him, and the malicious Accuſation of *Scioppius*; yet his intereſt (as though it had been an intail'd love) was ſtill found to live and increaſe in all the ſucceeding Dukes, during his Employment to that State, vvhich vvas almoſt twenty years; all vvhich time he ſtudied the diſpoſitions of thoſe *Dukes*, and the other *Conſulters* of *State*; vvell knowing, that he vvho negotiates a continued buſineſs, and neglects the ſtudy of diſpoſitions, uſually fails in his propoſed ends: But in this Sir *Henry Wotton* did not fail, for by a fine ſorting of fit Preſents, curious and not coſtly Entertainments, always ſweetned by various and pleaſant Diſcourſe; vvith vvhich, and his choice application of Stories, and his elegant Delivery of all theſe, even in their *Italian* Language, he firſt got, and ſtill preſerv'd ſuch intereſt in the State of *Venice*, that it vvas obſerv'd (ſuch vvas either his merit, or his modeſty) they never denied him any requeſt.

But, all this ſhews but his abilities, and his fitneſs for that Employment: 'Twill therefore be needful to tell the Reader, vvhat uſe he made of the Intereſt vvhich theſe procured him; and that indeed vvas, rather to oblige others then to enrich himſelf; he ſtill endeavoring that the Reputation of the *Engliſh* might be maintained, both in the *German* Empire, and in *Italy*; vvhere many Gentlemen vvhom Travel had invited into that Nation, received from him chearful Entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his intereſt ſhelter or deliverance from thoſe accidental ſtorms of adverſity vvhich uſually attend upon Travel.

And becauſe theſe things may appear to the

Reader

Reader to be but Generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular Examples, one of his Merciful Disposition, and one of the Nobleness of his Mind; which shall follow.

There had been many *English* Souldiers brought by Commanders of their own Country, to serve the *Venetians* for pay against the *Turk*: and those *English*, having by Irregularities, or improvidence, brought themselves into several Gallies and Prisons, Sir *Henry Wotton* became a Petitioner to that State for their Lives and Enlargement; and his Request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad Examples of Humane Misery, by hard Imprisonment, and unpitied Poverty in a strange Nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable Condition sent to thank God and him for their Lives and Liberty in their own Country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate Nature of him, who was (during his stay in those parts) as a City of Refuge for the Distressed of this and other Nations.

And for that which I offer as a Testimony of the Nobleness of his Mind, I shall make way to the Readers clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other Foreign Employments, Sir *Henry Wotton* was sent thrice Ambassadour to the Republick of *Venice*; and at his last going thither, he was employed Ambassadour to several of the *German* Princes, and more particularly to the Emperor *Ferdinando* the second; and that his Employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to equitable Conditions, for the Restauration of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and her Descendents, to their Patrimonial Inheritance of the *Palatinate*.

This

This was by his eight Months constant endeavors and attendance upon the *Emperor*, his Court and Councel, brought to a probability of a successful Conclusion without blood-shed: but there was at that time two oppolite Armies in the Field; and as they were Treating, there was a Battle fought, in the managery whereof, there was so many miserable Errors on the one side, (so Sir *Henry Wotton* expresses it in a Dispatch to the King) and so advantagious Events to the Emperour, as put an end to all present Hopes of a successful Treaty: so that Sir *Henry* seeing the face of Peace altered by that Victory, prepared for a Removal from that Court; and at his departure from the *Emperor*, was so bold as to remember him, *That the Events of every Battle move on the unseen Wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next: and therefore humbly advised him to use his Victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of Peace.* Which Advice, though it seemed to be spoke with some Passion, (his dear Mistress the Queen of *Bohemia* being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the *Emperor*; who replied, *That he would consider his Advice: And though he looked on the King his Master as an Abettor of his Enemy the* Paulsgrave; *yet for Sir* Henry *himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the Treaty, that he took him to be a Person of much Honour and Merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him*; which was a Jewel of Diamonds of more value then a Thousand Pounds.

This Jewel was received with all outward Circumstances and Terms of Honour by Sir *Henry Wotton*: but the next morning, at his departing from *Vienna*, he at his taking leave of the Countess of

of *Sabrina* (an *Italian* Lady, in whose House the Emperor had appointed him to be lodg'd, and honourably entertained:) *he acknowledged her desires, and besought her to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her Civilities:* presenting her with the same that was given him by the *Emperor*: which being suddenly discovered, and told to the *Emperor*, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir *Henry Wotton* told so by a Messenger. To which he replied, *That though he received it with thankefulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an Enemy to his Royal Mistress the Queen of* Bohemia; for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his Services to his Prince, and this Nation, might be insisted upon: as namely, his procurations of Priviledges and Courtesies with the *German* Princes, and the Republick of *Venice*, for the *English* Merchants; and what he did by direction of *King James* with the *Venetian* State, concerning the Bishop of *Spalato*'s return to the Church of *Rome*. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some Papers that might inform me, (his late Majesties *Letter Office* having now suffered a strange alienation) and indeed I want time too; for the Printers Press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring Sir *Henry Wotton* in an instant from *Venice* to *London*, leaving the Reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the Inscription under his Arms, which he left at all those Houses where he rested, or lodged, when he return'd from his last Embassy into *England*.

Henricus Wottonius *Anglo-Cantianus*, Thomæ *optimi*

optimi viri filiorum minimus, à serenissimo Jacobo I. *Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque serenissimæ Reipublicæ Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad confœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bis ad* Carolum Emanuel, *Sabaudiæ Ducem, semel ad unitas superioris Germaniæ Principes in Comitiis* Heilbrunensi, *postremo ad Archiducem* Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, *Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, & ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem* Ferdinandum secundum, *Legatus Extraordinarius; tandem hoc didicit,*

Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.

To *London* he came the year before King *James* died; who having for the reward of his forreign service, promised him the reversion of an Office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, and also granted him the reversion of the *Master of the Rolls* place; if he out-lived charitable Sir *Julius Cæsar*, who then possessed it: and then, grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond Natures Course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But, these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support: For in the beginning of these imployments he sold to his elder Brother the Lord *Wotton*, the Rent-charge left by his good Father, and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfie, but by the Kings payment of his Arrears due for his forreign Imployments: He had brought into *England* many servants, of which some were *German* and *Italian* Artists; this was

part

part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: (For it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir *Philip Sidney*'s wife, *That it was the very measure of congruity*) He being always so careless of money, as though our Saviours words, *Care not for to morrow*, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of providence, that in this juncture of time, the Provostship of His Majesties Colledge of *Eaton* became void by the death of Mr. *Thomas Murray*, for which there were (as the place deserv'd) many earnest and powerful Suitters to the *King*. And Sir *Henry* who had for many years (like *Sisiphus*) rolled the restless stone of a State-imployment; knowing experimentally, that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business: and, that a *Colledge* was the fittest place to nourish *holy thoughts*, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary Offices, and a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a Grant of it from His Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his *mind*: but *money* was wanting to furnish him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. *Nicholas Pey*, for his assistance; of which *Nicholas Pey*, I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a Clerk, or in some such way, a Servant to the Lord *Wotton*, Sir *Henry's* Brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the Kings Houshold, was made a great Officer in His Majesties House. This, and other favours being conferred upon Mr. *Fey* (*in whom there was a radical honesty*) were alwayes thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude exprest by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that Family even till his death. To him Sir *Henry Wotton* wrote, to use all his interest at Court, to procure Five hundred pounds of his Arrears (for less would not settle him in the Colledge) and the want of such a summe, *wrinckled his face with care*; ('twas his own expression) and, that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his *Colledge*, and *Invidiæ remedium* writ over his *Study* door.

This money, being part of his Arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest *Nicholas Pey's* interest in Court, quickly procured him; and he is quickly in the *Colledge*; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning: the *Colledge* being to his mind, as a quiet Harbor to a Sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very *Food* and *Raiment* were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money then enough, where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a Rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a *Calm*, and looking down, behold the busie multitude turmoyl'd and tossed in a tempestuous Sea of trouble and dangers! And (as Sir *William Davenant* has happily exprest the like of another person)

Laugh

Laugh at the graver business of the State,
Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate.

Being thus settled according to the desires of his *heart*, his first *study* was the Statutes of the *Colledge*: by which, he conceiv'd himself bound to enter into *Holy Orders*, which he did; being made *Deacon* with all convenient speed, shortly after which time, as he came in his *Surplice* from the *Church-service*, an old Friend, a person of Quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit, to whom Sir *Henry Wotton* replied, *I thank* God *and the* King, *by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition, which that Emperor* Charles *the Fifth, seem'd to approve; who, after so many remarkable Victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his* Crown, *and the many canes that attended it, to* Philip *his Son, making a holy retreat to a Cloysteral life, where he might by devout* meditations *consult with* God, (which the rich or busie men seldome do) *and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions. And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him,* that makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him; *even from my* God, *whom I daily magnifie for this particular mercy, of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my* age *and* infirmities *seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity.*

And now to speak a little of the imployment of his *time* in the Colledge. After his customary pub-

lick Devotions, his use was to retire into his *Study*, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and Authors in Divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his imployment in the Forenoon. But when he was once sate to Dinner, then nothing but chearfull thoughts possess'd his mind; and those still increased by constant company at his Table, of such persons as brought thither additions, both of Learning and Pleasure; but some part of most dayes was usually spent in *Philosophical Conclusions*. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of *Angling*, which he would usually call, *his idle time*, *not idly spent*; saying often, he would rather live five *May monethes*, then *forty Decembers*.

He was a great lover of his Neighbours, and a bountifull entertainer of them very often at his Table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant Cherisher of all those youths in that School, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a *Genius* that prompted them to Learning; for whose encouragement, he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rowes of *Pillars*, on which he caused to be choicely drawn, the pictures of divers of the most famous *Greek* and *Latin Historians*, *Poets*, and *Orators*; perswading them not to neglect *Rhetorick*, because *Almighty God has left Mankind affections to be wrought upon*. And he would often say, *That none despised Eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it*. He would also often make choice of some Observations out of those *Historians* and *Poets*: and would never leave the School, without dropping some choice

Greek

Greek or *Latin Apothegm* or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing Scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopefull Youths, which he picked out of the *School*, and took into his own Domestick care, and to attend him at his Meals; out of whose *Discourse* and *Behaviour*, he gathered observations for the better compleating of his intended work of *Education*: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to Posterity.

He was a great Enemy to *wrangling Disputes* of *Religion*, concerning which, I shall say a little, both to testifie that, and to shew the readiness of his Wit.

Having at his being in *Rome* made acquaintance with a pleasant *Priest*, who invited him one Evening to hear their Vesper *Musick* at *Church*; the Priest seeing Sir *Henry* stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a Boy of the Quire this Question, writ in a small piece of Paper, *Where was your Religion to be found before* Luther? To which Question Sir *Henry* presently under-writ, *My Religion was to be found* then, *where yours is not to be found* now, *in the written Word of God.*

The next Vesper, Sir *Henry* went purposely to the same Church, and sent one of the Quire-boyes with this Question, to his honest, pleasant friend, the Priest; *Do you believe all those many Thousands of our Christians were damn'd, that were Excommunicated, because the* Pope, *and the Duke of* Venice, *could not agree about their temporal power?* Speak your Conscience. To which he under-writ in *French*, *Monsieur, excusez moy.*

To one that asked him, *Whether a Papist may be saved?* he replyed, *You may be saved without knowing that.* Look to your self.

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, *Pray Sir forbear, till you have studied the Points better; for the wise Italians have this Proverb; He that understands amiss, concludes worse.* And take heed of thinking, *The farther you are from the Church of* Rome, *the nearer you are to God.*

And to another that spake indiscreet, and bitter words against *Arminius*, I heard him reply to this purpose:

In my travel towards Venice, *as I past through* Germany, *I rested almost a year at* Leyden, *where I entred into an acquaintance with* Arminius (*then the Professor of* Divinity *in that* University) *a man much talk'd of in this Age, which is made up of Dispution and* Controversie: *And indeed, if I mistake not* Arminius *in his expressions* (*as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do*) *then I know I differ from him in some points; yet, I profess my judgement of him to be, that he was a man of most rare Learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild, appears by his Proposals to our Master* Perkins *of* Cambridge, *from whose Book, of the Order and Causes of Salvation* (*which was first writ in Latin*) Arminius *took the occasion of writing some* Queries *to him concerning the consequents of his* Doctrine, *intending them* ('*tis said') *to come privately to Mr.* Perkins *own hands, and to receive from him, a like private, and a like loving* Answer: *But, Mr.* Perkins *died before those* Queries *came to him; and 'tis known he* Arminius *meant them to die with him, for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them, (but some*

his

his death, his Sons did not:) And 'tis pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins *did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself, for he was also of a most meek* spirit, *and of great and sanctified* Learning; *And though since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the Controversie, yet, for the most part, they have rather satisfied themselves, then convinced the dissenting party. And doubtless, many middle-witted men (which yet may mean well) many Scholars that are not in the highest Form for Learning (which yet may preach well) men that are but Preachers, and shall never know, till they come to Heaven, where the Questions stick betwixt* Arminius *and the Church of* England, *(if there be any) will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the* Controversie, *and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St.* Jude, *for being* Busie-bodies, *and for* medling with things they understand not.

And here it offers it self (I think not unfitly) to tell the Reader, that a friend of Sir *Henry Wottons*, being designed for the imployment of an *Ambassador*, came to *Eaton*, and requested from him some experimental Rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his Negotiations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible *Aphorism*; *That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his* Country, *he should always, and upon all occasions speak the* truth (*it seems a* State-Paradox) *for, sayes Sir* Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; *and by this means, your truth will secure your self, if you shall ever be called to any account; and 'twill also put your Adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions, and undertakings.*

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a

little stop, and invite the Reader to look back with me, whilst according to my propose, I shall say a little of Sir *Albertus Morton*, and Mr. *William Bedel*, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my Reader; that at Sir *Henry Wotton's* first going Ambassador into *Italy*, his Cousin, Sir *Albert Morton*, went his Secretary; and am next to tell you, that Sir *Albertus* died, *Secretary of State*, to our late King; but, cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possest Sir *Henry Wotton* at his first hearing the news that Sir *Albertus* was by death lost to him and this world; and yet, the Reader may partly guess by these following expressions: The first in a Letter to his *Nicholas Pey*, of which this that followeth is a part.

——— *And* My dear Nick, *When I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir* Albertus Morton *his departure out of this World, who was dearer to me, then mine own being in it; what a wound it is to my heart, you that know him, and know me, will easily believe; but, our Creators Will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own Creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, when he taketh to himself now one, and then another, till that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the Heaven it self as a Scrole of Parchment: This is the last* Philosophy *that we must study upon Earth, let us therefore that yet remain here, as our dayes and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other, which of all vertues, both* spiritual *and* moral, *hath the highest* priviledge, *because death it self cannot end it.* *And my good* Nick, *&c.*

This is a part of his sorrow thus exprest to his *Nick Pey*, the other part is in this following Elogy, of which the Reader may safely conclude, 'twas too hearty to be dissembled.

Tears

Tears wept at the Grave of Sir *Albertus Morton*, by *Henry Wotton*.

Silence in truth would speak my sorrow best,
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell;
Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest,
A time to bid him whom I lov'd, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
Strength to accent, Here my *Albetus* lies.

This is that Sable Stone, *this is the Cave*
And womb of Earth, that doth his Corps embrace;
While others sing his praise, let me ingrave
These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the Characters of Woe;
Here will I pay my Tribute to the Dead;
And here my faithful Tears in showres shall flow
To humanize the Flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
And none between my weakness judge and me;
Yet even these pensive Walls allow my moan,
Whose doleful Ecchoes to my plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here,
As if some Muse *would listen to my lay?*
When all dis-tun'd sit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the Banks *where he was wont to play.*

Dwell then in endless Bliss with happy Souls,
Discharg'd from Natures *and from* Fortunes *Trust;*
Whilst on this fluid Globe my Hour glass rowls,
And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

This concerning his Sir *Albertus Morton.*

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. *William Bedel*, I must prepare the Reader, by telling him, That when King *James* sent Sir *Henry Wotton* Ambassador to the State of *Venice*, he sent also an Ambassador to the King of *France*, and another to the King of *Spain*: with the Ambassador of *France* went *Joseph Hall*, (late *Bishop* of *Norwich*) whose many and useful Works speak his great Merit: with the Ambassador of *Spain* went *Ja Wadsworth*; and with Sir *Henry Wotton* went *William Bedel.*

These three Chaplains to those three Ambassadours, were all bred in one University, all of one * Colledge, all Benefic'd in one Diocess, and all most dear and intire Friends: But in *Spain* Mr. *Wadsworth* met vvith temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful, as to perswade him (who of the three, was formerly observ'd to be the most averse to that Religion that calls it self *Catholick*) to disclaim himself a Member of the Church of *England*, and declare himself for the Church of *Rome*; discharging himself of his attendance on the Ambassador, and betaking himself to a Monasterial life; in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

* *Emanuel* Colledge *in Cambridge.*

When Dr. *Hall* (the late *Bishop* of *Norwich*) came into *England*, he wrote to Mr. *Wadsworth*, ('tis the first Epistle in his Printed Decads) to perswade his return,

return, or to shew the reason of his Apostasie: the Letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression, that was so unpleasant to Mr. *Bradshaw*, that he chose rather to acquaint his old Friend Mr. *Bedel* with his motives; by which means there past betwixt Mr. *Bedel* and Mr. *Bradshaw* divers Letters, which be extant in Print, and did well deserve it: for in them there seems to be a controversie, not of Religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness? which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a Book-War.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. *Bedel*, for the greatest part of which, the Reader is referred to this following Letter of Sir *Henry Wotton*, writ to our late King *Charles* the first.

May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

HAving been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop *of* Armagh, *been directed hither, with a most humble Petition unto Your Majesty, that You will be pleased to make Mr.* William Bedel *(now resident upon a small Benefice in* Suffolk*) Governor of Your Colledge at* Dublin, *for the good of that Society; and my self being required to render unto Your Majesty some testimony of the said* William Bedel, *who was sometime my Chaplain at* Venice, *in the time of my first employment there; I am bound in all Conscience and Truth (so far as Your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgement) to affirm of him, That I think hardly a fitter man for that Charge, could have been propounded unto Your Majesty in Your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of the* Church, *and Zeal to advance the Cause of God; wherein his Travels*

yet abroad were not obscure, in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians.

For it may please Your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inmost thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, *both Scholastical and Positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his dayes, of which all the passages were well known to the King Your Father of most blessed memory. And so with Your Majesties gentle favour, I will end this needless Office, for the general Fame of his Learning, his Life, and Christian temper, and those Religious Labours which himself hath dedicated to Your Majesty, do better describe him then I am able.*

Your MAJESTIES
Most humble and faithful Servant,
H. WOTTON.

TO this Letter, I shall add this, That he was (to the great joy of Sir *Henry Wotton*) made Governor of the said Colledge; and that * after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be *Bishop* of *Kilmore*. * In both which places, his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians, for as they, so he kept all the *Ember-weeks*, observed (besides his private devotions) the *Canonical* hours of Prayer very strictly, and so he did all the Feasts, and Fast-dayes of his Mother, the Church of *England*;

* *August*, 1627.

* *Sept.* 3. 1629.

to

to which I may add, that his Patience and Charity were both such, as shewed his affections were set upon *things that are above*; for indeed his whole life brought forth the *fruits of the Spirit*, there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as *St. Paul* advised his *Timothy* in the Election of a *Bishop*, *That he* 1 Tim. 3. 7. *have a good report of those that be without*, so had he, *for those that were without*, even those that in point of Religion, whereof the *Roman* perswasion (of which there were very many in his Diocess) did yet (such is the power of visible Piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and, testified it, by a concealing, and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, when the fury of the wild *Irish* knew no distinction of persons; and yet, there, and then, he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary perswasion; and there, and then he dyed, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet Prison (1629.) And with him was lost many of his learned Writings, which were thought worthy of preservation: and amongst the rest was lost the *Bible*, which by many years labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the *Irish* Tongue, with an intent to have printed it for publick use.

More might be said of Mr. *Bedel*, who (I told the Reader) was Sir *Henry Wotton* first Chaplain; and much of his second Chaplain, *Hum. Burgraves*, Doctor in *Divinity*, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of *Canterbury*; as also of the Merit of many others, that had the happiness to attend Sir *Henry* in his forreign imployments: But, the Reader may think that in this digression, I have already

already carried him too far from *Eaton College*, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently, and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir *Henry Wotton*.

Sir *Henry Wotton* had propos'd to himself, before he entred into his Collegiate life, to write the life of *Martin Luther*; and in it, the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in *Germany*: For the doing of which, he had many advantages by his several Embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several Princes of the *Empire*, by whose means he had access to the Records of all the *Hans Towns*, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as it well known to his worthy friend Dr. *Dappa*, the late Reverend Bishop of *Salisbury*; but in the midst of this design, His late Majesty King *Charles*, the first, that knew the value of Sir *Henry Wotton's* Pen, aid by a perswasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500 *l.* a year) force him to lay *Luther* aside, and betake himself to write the History of *England*; in which he proceeded to write some short Characters of a few Kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of *Henry* the *sixth*, the Founder of that Colledge, in which he then enjoy'd all the worldly happiness of his present being; but Sir *Henry* dyed in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the Colledge, where he seemed to have his *Youth* renewed

by

by a continual conversation with that Learned Society; and a daily recourse of other Friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which, that great blessing of a cheerfull heart was still maintained; he being alwayes free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends Age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damp'd by the remembrance of divers old Debts, partly contracted in his forreign Imployments, for which his just Arrears due from the *King*, would have made satisfaction; but, being still delayed with Court-promises, and finding some delayes of health, he did about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire, that none should be a loser by it, make his last *Will*, concerning which, a doubt still remains, whether it discovered more *holy wit*, or *conscionable policy*: But there is no doubt, but that his chief design was a *Christian* endeavour that his Debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a Testimony, and a Legacy to those that lov'd him, I shall here impart it to the Reader, as it was found writ with his own hand.

IN the name of God Almighty and All-merciful, I Henry Wotton, *Provost of his Majesties College by* Eaton, *being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first Parents did bring upon all* flesh, *Do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispose of my self, and the poor things I shall leave in this World. My Soul, I bequeath to the Immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer, and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole World, and efficient for his Elect, in the number of whom, I am one by his meer grace, and thereof most*

unre-

unremovably assisted by his holy Spirit, the sure Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the Earth, if I shall end my transitory dayes at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chappel of the said Colledge, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have liv'd (my God knows) in all loving affection; or if I shall dye near Bocton Malherb, in the County of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful Resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his Faith, and this Testament or disposition of his Soul to that God that inspir'd it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his Executors should lay over his grave a Marble stone, plain, and not costly. And considering that time moulders even Marble to dust; (for *Monuments themselves must die.*) Therefore did he (waiving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the Son of Sirach adviseth all men) by an useful *Apothegm*, than by a large enumeration of his descent or mystery of both which he might justly have boasted) but, he was content to forget them, and did chuse only this prudent, pious, Sentence, to discover his Disposition, and preserve his *Memory*.

'Twas directed by him, to be thus inscribed:

Hic jacet hujus Sententiæ primus Author.

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

Nomen alias quærat.

Which may be Englished thus,

Here lies the first Author of this Sentence.

THE

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

Inquire the name of Authors.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, That Sir *Henry Wotton* was not the first Author of this Sentence; but, that this, or a Sentence like it, was long before his time: To him I answer, that *Solomon* says, *Nothing can be spoken; that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the Sun.* But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or like Sentence; yet reason mixt with Charity should perswade all Readers to believe, That Sir *Henry Wotton's* mind was then so fix'd on that part of the Communion of *Saints* which is above, that an holy *Lethargy* did surprize his *Memory*. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first Author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the publick view, and censure of every *Critick*. And questionless, 'twill be charity in all Readers, to think his mind was then so fixt on Heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him: and that in this Sacred Extasie, his thoughts were then only of the Church Triumphant, into which he daily expected his admission. And that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a *Prophet*, to tell the *Church Militant*, and particularly that part of it in this Nation where the weeds of controversie grow so rank, and are daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble Piety: and where men have Consciences that boggle at Ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and whereas our

Reverend *Hooker* ſayes, *former* Simplicity, *and ſe-*
neſs of Spirit, is not now to be found, becauſe Zeal ha
drowned Charity, *and* Skill Meekneſs: It will b
good to think that theſe ſad changes have prove
this *Epitaph* to be a uſeful Caution unto us of th
Nation; and the ſad effects thereof in *Germa*
have prov'd it to be a mournful *Truth.*

This by way of Obſervation concerning h
Epitaph: The reſt of his *Will* followes in his ow
words.

Further, I the ſaid Henry Wotton, *do conſtitu*
and ordain to be joynt Executors of this my laſt Will a
Teſtament, *my two Grand-Nephews*, Albert Morton
ſecond ſon to Sir Robert Morton *Knight, late decea*
ſed. and Thomas Bargrave, *eldeſt ſon to Dr.* Bar
grave, *Dean of* Canterbury, *Husband to my Ki*
Vertuous and only Neece. And I do pray the foreſaid D
Bargrave, *and Mr.* Nicholas Pey, *my moſt faith*
and choſen friends, together with Mr. John Harriſo
one of the Fellows of Eaton Colledge, *beſt acquain*
with my Books and Pictures, and other Utenſils, to
Superviſors of this my laſt Will *and* Teſtament. *A*
I do pray the foreſaid Dr. Bargrave, *and Mr.* Nichol
Pey, *to be Solicitors for ſuch Arrearages as ſhall appe*
due unto me from his Majeſties Exchequer, at the ti
of my death; and to aſſiſt my fore-named Executors
ſome reaſonable and conſcientious ſatisfaction of my C
ditors, and diſcharge of my Legacies now ſpecified;
that ſhall be hereafter added unto this my Teſtament,
any Codicil or Schedule, or left in the hands, or in
Memorial with the aforeſaid Mr. John Harriſon. *A*
firſt, To my moſt dear Soveraign and Maſter of inc
parable Goodneſs, *(in whoſe gracious opinion I ha*
ever had ſome portion, as far as the intereſt of a

honest man) *I have four Pictures at large of those Dukes of* Venice, *in whose time I was there imployed, with their Names written on the back-side, which hang in my great ordinary Dining-room, done after the Life by* Edoardo Fialetto. *Likewise a Table of the* Venetian Colledge, *where Ambassadors had their Audience, hanging over the Mantle of the Chimney in the said Room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D.* Leonardo Donato, *in a time which needed a wise and constant man.* It. *The Picture of a Duke of* Venice *hanging over against the door, done either by* Titiano, *or some other principal hand long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said Pieces may remain in some corner of any of his Houses, for a poor Memorial of his most humble vassal.*

It. *I leave his said Majesty all the Papers and Negotiations of Sir* Nich. Throgmorton *Knight, during his famous imployment under Queen* Elizabeth, *in* Scotland *and in* France, *which contain divers secrets of State, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-Office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary* Windebanck, *with whom I was heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir* Arthur Throgmorton *his Son, to whose worthy memory I can better discharge my faith, then by assigning them to his best place of trust.* It. *I leave to our most Gracious and Vertuous Queen* Mary, Dioscorides, *with the Plants naturally coloured, and the Text translated by* Matthiolo, *in the best Language of* Tuscany, *whence the said Majesty is Royally descended, for a poor token of my thankfull devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the said hopefull Prince, the Picture of the elected and crown-*

ed Queen of Bohemia, his Aunt, of clear and resplen-
dent vertues through the clouds of her Fortune. To
Lords Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my P
cture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the Kin
Galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty: beseech
him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to
great Wisdome. And to the most worthy Lord Bisho
of London, Lord High Treasurer of England,
true admiration of his Christian simplicity, and conte
of earthly pomp; I leave a Picture of Heraclitus bewe
ing, and Democritus laughing at the world: M
humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grac
and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favour
have tasted in my life time, to intercede with our most gr
cious Soveraign after my death, in the bowels of Jes
Christ, That out of compassionate memory of my l
Services (wherein I more studied the publick Hono
then mine own Utility) some Order may be taken on
my Arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction
my Creditors, as those whom I have Ordained Supervis
of this my last Will and Testament shall present unto th
Lordships, without their farther trouble: Hoping th
wise in his Majesties most indubitable Goodness, that
will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherw
suffer by any defect of formality in the Demand of my
Arrears. To——for a poor addition to his Cabi
I leave as Emblems of his attractive Vertues, and Ob
ging Nobleness, my great Loadstone; and a piece
Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differ
in degree of Concoction, which is thought somewhat r
Item, A piece of Christal Sexangular, (as they r
all) grasping divers several things within it, whi
bought among the Rhetian Alps, in the very place where
grew: recommending most humbly unto his Lordship,
reputation of my poor Name in the point of my debts,

ave done to the forenamed Spiritual Lords; and am heartily sorry, that I have no better token of my humble thankefulnesse to his honoured Person. It' *I leave to Sir* Francis Windebank, *one of his Majesties principal Secretaries of State, (whom I found my great friend in point of Necessity) the four Seasons of old* Bassano, *to hang near the Eye in his Parlour, (being in little form) which I bought at* Venice, *where I first entred into his most worthy Acquaintance.*

To the abovenamed Dr. Bargrave *Dean of* Canterbury, *I leave all my* Italian *Books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise my* Viol de Gamba, *which hath been twice with me in* Italy, *in which Country I first contracted with him an unremovable Affection. To my other Supervisor Mr.* Nicholas Pey, *I leave my Chest, or* Cabinet *of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of uses: in* * *the lower box whereof, are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pound for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears, and am sorry that my* ragged Estate *can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign Imployments. To the Library at* Eaton *Colledge I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain Ring of gold, enamel'd black, all save the verge, with this Motto within,* Amor unit omnia.

* In it were *Italian* locks, picklocks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his forreign Travel.

This is my last Will *and* Testament, *save what shall be added by a Schedule thereunto annexed. Written the first of* October, *in the present year of our Re-*

demption 1637. *And subscribed by my self, with the Testimony of these Witnesses.*

HENRY VVOTTON.

Nich. Oudert.
Geo. Lash.

AND now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of *Events*; I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in the VVill, did gladly receive their Legacies; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joyned in assisting the Overseers of his VVill; and by their joynt endeavours to the King (then whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the Reader, is, That he went usually once a year, if not oftner, to the beloved *Boston-hall*; where he would say, *he found a cure for all cares*, *by the cheerfull company*, which he called the living furniture of that place: and, *a restoration of his strength*, *by the Connaturalness of that*, *which he called his* genial *air*.

He yearly went also to *Oxford*. But the Summer before his death he changed that for a journey to *Winchester*-Colledge; to which School he was first removed from *Boston*. And as he returned from *Winchester*, towards *Eaton* Colledge, said to a friend, his Companion in that Journey; *How usefull was that advice of a Holy* Monk, *who perswaded his friend* to perform his Customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place, we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there, *And I find it thus by experience*.

ally true; that, at my now being in that School, and seeing that very place where I sate when I was a Boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow pac'd) had changed my youth *into* manhood: *But, age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes: For I have alwayes found it true, as my* Saviour *did foretell,* Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. *Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of Boyes using the same recreations, and, questionless possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus, one generation succeeds another, both in their* lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and deaths.

After his return from *Winchester* to *Eaton* (which was about five Moneths before his death) he became much more retir'd, and contemplative; in which time he was often visited by Mr. *John Hales*, (learned Mr. *John Hales*) then a Fellow of that Colledge; to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose—*I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those Joys of which a discoursive soul is capable: and, being entertain'd with more inferior pleasures then the sons of men are usually made partakers of: nevertheless, in this voyage I have not alwayes floated on the calm Sea of Content; but, have often met with cross winds and storms, and, with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet, though I have been and am a man compass'd about with humane frailties, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwrack of faith and a good Conscience; the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and, I must humbly praise him for it; And, I humbly acknowledge that it was not my self but he that*

both kept me to this great age, and, let him take the glory of his great mercy. And, my dear Friend, I now see that I am near my harbour of death: that harbour, that will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this restless world; and, I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better; that world, wherein dwelleth Righteousness. — These, and the like expressions were then utter'd by him at the beginning of a Feavourish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an *Asthma*, or short spitting; but after less then twenty fits, by the help of familiar Physick and a spare Diet, this Feaver abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker then it found him: and, his *Asthma* seem'd also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing *Tobacco*, which, as many thoughtfull men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately.--This was his then present condition, and, thus he continued till about the end of *October* 1639. which was about a moneth before his death, at which time, he again fell into a *Feaver*, which, though he seem'd to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and, after some short time to leave him, came now, both oftner and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakning his Body and abating his chearfulness: of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftner retire into his Study, and there made many Papers that had pass'd his Pen both in the dayes of his youth, and in the busie part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. — These and several unusuall expressions to his Servants and Friends, seem'd to foretell that

the day of his death drew near: for which, he seem'd to those many friends that observ'd him, to be well prepar'd, and to be both patient, and free from all fear, as several of his Letters writ on this his last sick bed may testifie: and thus he continued till about the beginning of *December* following, at which time he was seiz'd more violently with a *Quotidian Feaver*, in the tenth fit of which Feaver, his better part, that part of Sir *Henry Wotton* which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and chearfulness as humane frailty is capable of; being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the Circle of Sir *Henry Wotton*'s Life-- (that Circle which began at *Bolton*, and in the *Circumference* thereof, did first touch at *Winchester-School*, then at *Oxford*, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in *Christendom*;) That *Circle* of his *Life*, was by *Death* thus closed up and compleated, in the seventy and second year of his *Age*, at *Eaton Colledge*, where, according to his Will, he now lyes buried, with his Motto on a plain Grave-stone over him; dying, worthy of his Name and *Family*, worthy of the love and favour of so many *Princes*, and Persons of eminent *Wisdome* and *Learning*, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the Service of his *Prince* and *Countrey*.

And all Readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy Pen, to have preserved his Memory, *and commended his* Merits *to the imitation of Posterity.*

Iz. Wa.

AN

AN

ELEGIE

ON

Sir *HENRY WOTTON*,

WRIT

By Mr. *ABRAM COWLEY.*

WHat shall we say, since silent now is he,
Who when he spoke all things would silent be.
Who had so many Languages in store,
That only fame shall speak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd must see:
He's gone to Heaven, on his fourth Embassie.
On Earth he travel'd often, not to say
He'd been abroad to pass loose time away:
For, in what ever Land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners: bringing home
Their VVisdome, Learning, and their Piety,
As if he went to Conquer, not to see.
So well he understood the most and best
Of Tongues, that Babel sent into the West:
Spoke them so truly, that he had (you'd swear)
Not only liv'd, but, been born every where.
Justly each Nations speech to him was known:
Who, for the VVorld was made, not us alone.

Nor,

Nor, ought the Language *of that man be leſt*
Who in his breſt had all they Arts expreſt:
We ſay that Learning's *endleſs, and blame Fate*
For not allowing life a longer date:
He did the utmoſt bounds of Knowledge *finde;*
And found them not ſo large as was his minde:
But, like the brave Pelican youth *did mone:*
Becauſe that Art *had no more* VVorlds *then one.*
And, when he ſaw that he through all had paſt,
He dy'd, *leſt he ſhould* Idle *grow at laſt.*

H

A. Cowley.

MARCO VELSERO

Duumviro Augustæ Vindelicæ.

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS

S. D.

PRivatim antehàc ad te aliquoties scripsi; *Nunc causa est ut publicè quoque id faciam: Hæc, qualis sit, quæso audias. Prostabat Francofurti superioribus Nundinis opus quoddam, si molem spectes (quod ferè fit) non sanè de infimis, cum hac inscriptione;*

Gasparis *Scioppii* Ecclesiasticus, authoritati Serenissimi Domini *Jacobi Regis* oppositus.

In quo cùm argumento magnam partem novo, tum exemplo nemini adhuc usitato, & *cætera quæ eandem modestiam sapiunt.*

Hujus operis consutor cùm farraginem rerum undecunque emendicaret, videtur nescio quo modo incidere in jocosam Legati definitionem, quam jam ante octennium istàc transiens apud amicum virum Christophorum Fleckamerum *fortè posueram in Albo Amicorum more Teutonico, his ipsis verbis;* Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ caussâ. *Definitio adeò fortasse catholica, ut complecti possit etiam* Legatos à latere. *Quid hîc, obsecro, facit* Scioppius? *Referat familiaritatis scrinia, resuscitat, post tot annos, obsoletos sales, jam ipsa vetustate ab inquietudine redemptos; ornat me, pro humanitate suâ, clementissimâ interpretatione, tanquam id non solùm seriò, sed & jactanter scripsissem; Neque hoc contentus, conatur quoque intemeratum Optimi Regis nomen per jocos meos in invidiam trahere, quasi Domini præstare tenerentur etiam servorum lusus: Postremò ad honestandam petulantiam suam locum*

unum

unum atque alterum ex Esaia *&* Solomone *lepidè intermiscet, ut nihil est tutum à profanis ingeniis. Hæc in me fatèor cecidisse miro seculo. Quis enim putarat nascituram hominem impatientem brevis joci super Legatorum licentiâ qui tantùm politica agitant, ubi indies videmus ipsam Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ severitatem à quibusdam Æquivocationum, mentalium reservationum, & piarum fraudum Magistris tam fœdè constupratam? neque hoc obiter, aut jocosè, aut in Albis Amicorum, ubi vana verâque pari securitate tam scribi quàm depingi solent: sed ex professo, & de suggestu, & cum privilegio & authoritate Superiorum. Verum* Scioppius *est qui surrexit. Et quid expectet me responsurum? Sanè memini familiam meam cum Venetiis essem Anathemate percussam in Paraneſi Baronianâ. Memini tum etiam à* Gomitulo *Jesuitâ* Perusino, *& ab* Antonio Possevino *ejusdem farinæ quædam in me jacta: Quæ quanquam ab exulceratis animis effluerent utcunque tacitus ferebam: Quippe hi erant viri non indignæ existimationis saltem apud suos; & ipsorum authorum qualiscunque claritudo leniebat injuriam: Sed cùm famelicus transfuga & Romanæ curiæ lutulentus circulator scriptitat solùm ut prandere posſit; Cùm semicoctus Grammaticaster, & nullâ ante hâc solidiore disciplinâ tinctus, Ecclesiastica tractat; Cùm vespillonis, & castrensis Scorti* *spuma irreverenter in Regem debacchatur, cujus eximia in divinis humanisque sapientia & constans justi tenor cuicunque vel privato venerationem conciliaret; Cùm homo Germanus exutâ patriâ probitate & modestiâ, nihil aliud per totum opus quàm eversionem Regum Regnorumque spirat; Cùm denique idem os quod Jesuiticam societatem* Parricidalem Cohortem *vocaverat, nunc*

* Lege vulgata de vita & parentibus Scioppii. *p.* 127.

* Ibidem *p.* 132.

postquam

postquam culinas Romæ olere cœpit, eandem Prætoriam * Castrorum Dei cohortem *vocat*, Quis Iniquæ Tam patiens urbis *(quæ istud animal pabulatur)* tam ferreus, ut teneat se? *Igitur, semotâ omni festivitate, te seriò, te ex animo (Ornatissime* Velsere*) in hac Epistolâ convenio: orans, obtestánsque per commune humanitatis vinculum, per ejusdem Baptismi, ejusdem symboli conscientiam, ipse velis (pro authoritate quâ te scio valere apud tuos) istos* Scioppios *compescere; ut ejectis è cœtu Christiano similibus hominum propudiis, Caussarúmque sane vel optimarum dehonestamentis, sua bonis viris existimatio, sua Principibus dignitas maneat: Non vexentur Nundinæ prostitutis Parasitorum calamis; Non typi (nobile Germanorum inventum) adeò miserè torqueantur; sequatur deniq; quantum infirmitas nostra ferat, illa Regnorum Ecclesiarúmque requies quam nobis commendavit supremus pacis præceptor simul & exemplum. Quòd si impudentem illam dicacitatem (quam ab infami ortu μάλα ἀναλθγως traxit) non deponere poterit sine magno ventriculi incommodo; saltem dignus est certè cui curtetur esca ob execrandam argutiam quâ sibi videtur vel ipsis Tridentinis Patribus oculatior. Illi* * Traditiones & Scripturam Sacram paritantùm pietatis affectu & reverentiâ suscipiendas, *primi omnium (quod ego sciam) decrevere. At iste novus Ecclesiasticus non in Albo Amicorum, sed pulcherrimi syntagmatis sui,* p. 485, *majorem traditi quàm scripti verbi Divini authoritatem blasphemo & pudendo ore pronunciat. Possem sexcentas id genus* Scioppietates *proferre, sed hoc esset ruspari sterquilinium. Vale igitur (Vir nobilissime) atque iterum Salve.* Londino *Nonis* Decembribus Julianis. Anno *unici Mediatoris nostri* 1612.

* Ecclesiasticus Scioppii p. 371.

* 8. April. Sess. 4.

TO

TO
MARCUS VELSERUS,
One of the two
Governours of *AUSBURG*.

HENRY WOTTON wishing health.

SIR,

I Have vvritten to you heretofore sometimes in private, but have a concern upon me now to do it also in publick, of vvhich (vvith your permission) I desire thus to inform you.

At the last *Frankefurt Mart* there vvas set to sale a certain Book of Bulk (vvhich often gives the value) not inconsiderable. And it bore this Inscription:

Jaspar Scioppius his *Ecclesiasticus*; opposed to the Authority of the most Serene Lord King *James*——vvherein as vvith Arguments for the most part new, and in a vvay hitherto by no man trac'd——And so on vvith the like modesty.

The Composer of this VVork, in his begging Scraps all about, I know not by vvhat means, seems to have lighted on a merry definition of an Ambassador, vvhich above eight years before passing by that vvay, I had chanced to set down at my Friend's Mr. *Christopher Fleckamor*, in his *Album* of

Friends,

Friends, after the *German* custome, (*a white Paper-Book us'ed by the* Dutch *for such kind of Mottos*) which was worded thus:

Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipub. causâ. In English, being only this Jest; *An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lye abroad for the Commonwealth.*

A Definition perhaps so Catholick, that it may comprehend even the Popes Legates; Now, what, I pray, think you doth this *Scioppius* hereupon? Throws open the Cabinet of familiarity, after so many years, revives an obsolete conceipt, priviledg'd from disturbance even by its Antiquity, and according to his civility adorns me with a most gentle construction, as if I had written it not only in good earnest, but even with ostentation. Nor satisfi'd with this, he endeavours to draw a blemish from my merriment, upon the untainted reputation of the best of Kings; as if Masters were oblig'd to answer for their Servants triflings. Lastly, To varnish over his perverseness, he puts in a passage or two out of *Esay* and *Solomon* pleasantly, as nothing is secure from a prophane wit.

This I confess befell me in a wondrous age; for, who could have imagin'd so ill humour'd a creature likely to be born, whom such a little fancy upon the Licence of Ambassadors, (who act only in Politicks) should so grievously offend; whereas we daily see the severity it self of holy Writ, so foully adulterated by some that are Makers of equivocations, pious frauds, and mental reservations? And this not by the by, nor in jest, or in the *Album* of Friends, where idle things and truths us'd to be set

set down with equal security, but on set purpose, and from the Pulpit, with priviledge and Authority of Superiors? Yea but it is *Scioppius* that has rose up, and what answer from me doth he expect? I remember indeed that being at *Venice*, my Family was struck with an *Anathema* in *Baronius* his *Paraenesis*; I remember that then also some things of the like sort were cast at me by *Gonitulius*, a Jesuit of *Perugia*, and by *Anthony Possevin*, which, although they flow'd from galled spirits, yet however I bore in silence, for, these were men of no mean repute, at least at home, and, such eminency as they had, qualifi'd the injury. But when a hungry Renegado, a dirty Sharker about the *Romish* Court, only scribbles that he may dine, and a raw Pedant, not at all vers'd in more solid Learning, falls to treating of Church-matters; when the spawn of a Sexton, and an Ammunition Trull, * rages with that irreverence against a King, whose eminent knowledge in things divine and humane, and constant evenness of Justice, would beget a veneration to any private person; when a *German* quitting the modesty and honesty of his Countrey, breathes nothing throughout his whole Book but the subversion of Kings and Kingdomes; when, finally, the same mouth which had called the Society of the Jesuits, a company of Parricides; and now having begun to smell the *Roman* Kitchins, styles them the *Praetorian Band of Gods Militia*: *Quis iniqua tam patientis Urbis, qua istud Animal pabulatur, tam ferreus & tenax sit?* Who can endure so base a City (that feeds the Beast) or is so insensible as to contain himself?

* *See what is published of the Life and Parents of* Scioppius, *pag.* 127.

Wherefore (setting aside all lightness) I commune with you by this Letter seriously, and from my heart (most accomplished *Velserus*) desiring and beseeching you by our common bond of Humanity, by our conscience in the same Faith and Baptism; that (according to the power I know you have amidst your people) you would quell these *Scioppians*, that such scandals of mankind, and shames even to the bad Causes, being banished from Christian Society, good men may retain their esteem, and Princes their Dignity; that your Marts may not be pester'd with the prostituted Pens of Parasites, nor the Press (the brave Invention of the *Germans*) be so miserably tormented; and lastly, that (as much as in our weakness lyes,) the happy quiet of Kingdomes and Churches may ensue, which the highest Teacher, and example of peace hath commended to us. But if he cannot leave off that impudent scurrility (which from his base extraction he has very suitably contracted) without great inconvenience to his Belly, surely he deserves at least to have his Commons shortned, for that execrable subtilty, whereby he seems to himself quicker sighted then the Counsel of *Trent*; for they, first of any (that I know of) decreed, that * Traditions and holy Scripture were with equal affection, only, of piety and reverence to be received: But this new Ecclesiastick, not in the *Album* of Friends, but in the 485th. Page of his *fine Syntagma*, pronounces with a sharpe-nosed and shameless mouth, *that the Authority of Tradition is above the written Word of God*.

* *April* 8. Sess. 4.

could produce in a hundred such *Sciopheles*, but that were to take a Dunghill. Wherefore farewel most Noble Sir, and again farewel.

From *London*, *Decemb.* 2. after the *Julian* Account, in the Year of our onely Mediatour, 1612.

TO THE

Right Worthy Provost AND *PROFESSOR REGIUS* OF DIVINITY IN *CAMBRIDGE.*

SIR,

THough my feet cannot perform that Counsel which I remember from some Translation in *Syracides*, *Terras linten sensati viri*, yet I should at least have often visited you with my poor lines. But on the other side, while I durst not trust mine own conceit in the power of my present infirmity, and therefore have seldome written to any, I find

my self in the mean time overcharged with five Letters from you of singular kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty Peacefull Piece, which truly I had not seen before; for besides the weight of the Subject, it was welcome even for the grace of Newness: Yet let me tell you, I could not but somewhat wonder to find our Spiritual *Seneca* (you know whom I mean) among these Reconcilers, having read a former Treatise of his (if my memory fail me not) of a contrary complexion. Howsoever, now let him have his due praise with the rest for shewing his Christian Wisdome and Charity. But I fear, as it was anciently said by a *Roman* General, that *Bellum sese alit*, so it will prove, though in somewhat a different sense, likewise as true of this Church-warfare, *That the very pleasure of Contending will foment Contention till the end of all Flesh.*

But let me leave that Sacred business to our well-meaning Fathers.

And now, Sir, having a fit Messenger, and not long after the time when Love-tokens use to pass between Friends, let me be bold to send you for a New-years-gift a certain Memorial, not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your roof; namely, a true Picture of *Padre Paolo* the *Servita*, which was first taken by a Painter whom I sent unto him from my House then neighbouring his Monastery. I have newly added thereunto a Title of mine own Conception, *Concilii Tridentini Evisceratori*; and had sent the Frame withal, if it were portable, which is but of plain Deale, coloured Black like the Habit of his Order. You have a luminous Parlour, which I give you cause to remember, not only by delicate

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care Fare and Freedom (the Prince of Dishes,) but above all, by your own Learned Discourse, for to dine with you, is to dine with many good Authors; In that Room I beseech you to allow it a favourable place for my sake. And that you may have somewhat to tell of him more then a bare Image, if any shall ask, as in the Table of *Cebes*, *τίς ἐστι ὁ ἐγκείμενος*, I am desirous to characterize a little unto you such part of his Nature, Customes, and Abilities as I had occasion to know by sight or by enquiry. He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of Humanity; the very Pattern of that Precept, *Quanto doctior Tanto submissior*. And enough alone to demonstrate, That Knowledge well digested *non inflat*. Excellent in Positive, excellent in Scholastical and Polemical Divinity. A rare Mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in *Algebra* and the Theoriques; and yet withall so expert in the History of Plants, as if he had never perused any Book but Nature. Lastly, a great Canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the State: And certainly in the time of the Popes Interdict, they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to sit fenced with a Castle of Paper about his Chair, and over head; for he was of our Lord of *St. Albons* opinion, *That all Air is predatory*; and especially hurtfull when the spirits are most employed. You will find a Scar in his Face, that was from a *Roman* Assassinate, that would have killed him as he was turned to a wall near to his Covent: And if there were not a greater Providence about us, it might often have been easily done, especially

upon

upon such a weak and wearyish Body. He was of a quiet and settled Temper, vvhich made him prompt in his Counsels and Answers; and the same in Consultation, vvhich *Themistocles* vvas in Action, Ἀνθρωπεδούζων ἐλατύπτος, as vvill appear unto you in a passage between him and the Prince of *Conde*. The said Prince in a voluntary journey to *Rome* came by *Venice*, vvhere to give some vent to his own humours, he vvould often devest himself of his Greatness, and after other less laudable Curiosities, not long before his departure, a desire took him to visit the Famous obscure *Servita*: To vvhose Cloyster coming twice, he vvas the first time denied to be vvithin; at the second it vvas intimated, that by reason of his daily admission to their deliberation in the Palace, he could not receive the Visit of so Illustrious a Personage vvithout leave from the Senate, vvhich he vvould seek to procure. This set a greater edge on the Prince, vvhen he savv he should confer vvith one participant of more then Monkish Speculations: so after leave gotten, he came the third time, and then besides other voluntary Discourse (vvhich it vvere a Tyranny over you to repeat) he assail'd him vvith a Question enough to have troubled any man but himself, and him too, if a precedent Accident had not eased him: The Question vvas διαῤῥηδὴν this, He desired to be told by him before his going, Who vvas the true unmasked Author of the late *Tridentine* History?

You must knovv this, that but newly Advertisement vvas come from *Rome*, that the Arch-bishop of *Spalato* being then re-arrived from *England*, in an interview between him and the Cardinal *Ludovisio*, Nephevv to *Gregory* the XV. the said Cardi-

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nal after a complemental welcoming him into the Lap of the Church, told him by order from the Pope, that his Holiness vvould expect from him some Recantation in Print, as an Antidote against certain Books and Pamphlets vvhich he had published vvhilst he stood in Revolt. Namely, his first *Manifesto*; Item, Two Sermons preached at the *Italian* Church in *London*: Again, a little Tract, entituled his *Scogli*. And lastly, his greater Volumes about Church Regiment, and Controversies. These vvere all named. For as touching the *Tridentine* History, His Holiness (sayes the Cardinal) vvill not press you to any disavowment thereof, though you have an Epistle before the Original Edition, because vve knovv vvell enough that Frier *Paolo* is the Father of that Brat. Upon this last Piece of the aforesaid Advertisement, the good Father came fairly off; for on a sudden laying all together, that to disavovv the Work vvas an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to say nothing an incivility; he took a middle evasion, telling the Prince, That he understood he vvas going to *Rome*, vvhere he might learn at ease vvho vvas the Author of that Book, as they were freshly intelligenced from thence.

Memorandum, That this Recantation was to my knowledge never Printed at Rome, *or elsewhere, through more haste belike to his death, or otherwise upon further consideration, that things extorted with fear carry no credit, even by the* Prætors Edict.

Quod metus causa.

Thus vvithout any mercy of your Time, I have been led along from one thing to another, vvhile

I have taken pleasure to remember that Man whom God appointed and furnished for a proper Instrument to Anatomize that Pack of Reverend Cheaters, among whom (I speak of the greater part, *exceptis sanioribus*) Religion was shuffled like a pair of Cards, and the Dice so many years were set upon us. And so wishing you very heartily many good years, I will let you breathe till you have opened the inclosed, remaining

Your poor Friend to serve you,

From the Arms of your good Nurse, who fed you with her best Milk, *Jan.* 17. 1637

HENRY WOTTON.

THE

THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE,

Collected by

HENRY WOTTON Kt,

From the

Best AUTHOURS AND EXAMPLES.

THE PREFACE.

I *Shall not need* (*like the moſt part of Writers*) *to celebrate the* Subject *which I deliver*; *In that point I am at eaſe. For* Architecture *can want no commendation, where there are* Noble-Men, *or* Noble Minds; *I will therefore ſpend this* Preface, *rather about thoſe from whom I have gathered my knowledge: For I am but a gatherer and diſpoſer of other mens ſtuff, at my beſt value.*

Our principal Maſter *is* Vitruvius, *and ſo I ſhall often call him*; *who had this* felicity, *that he wrote when the* Roman Empire *was neer the pitch: Or at leaſt, when* Auguſtus (*who favoured his endeavours*) *had ſome meaning* (*if he were not miſtaken*) *to bound the* Monarchie: *This, I ſay, was his good hap*; *For in growing and enlarging times,* Arts *are commonly drowned in* Action: *But on the other ſide, it was in truth an* unhappineſs, *to expreſs himſelf ſo ill, eſpecially writing* (*as he did*) *in a ſeaſon of the ableſt* Pens; *And his* obſcurity *had this ſtrange fortune, That though he were beſt practiſed, and beſt followed by his own* Country-men; *yet after the receiving and repoliſhing of good* Literature (*which the combuſtions and tumults of the* middle-age *had* uncivilized) *he was beſt, or at leaſt, firſt underſtood by* Strangers: *For of all the* Italians *that took him in hand, thoſe that were* Grammarians *ſeem to have wanted* Mathematical *knowledge*; *and the* Mathematicians *perhaps* Tacit. lib. 1. Annal.

wanted Grammar: *till both were ſufficiently conjoyned, in* Leon-Batiſti Alberti *the* Florentine, *whom I repute the firſt learned* Architect *beyond the Alpes: But he ſtudied more indeed to make himſelf an* Author, *then to illuſtrate his* Maſter: *Therefore amongſt his Commenters, I muſt (for my private conceit) yeeld the chief praiſe unto the* French, *in* Philander; *and to the high* Germans *in* Gualterius Rivius: *who, beſides his Notes, hath likewiſe publiſhed the moſt elaborate* Tranſlation, *that I think is extant in any Vulgar Speech of the World: though not without bewailing, now and then, ſome defect of* Artificial *terms in his* own; *as I muſt likewiſe: For if the* Saxon *(our Mother-tongue) did complain; as juſtly, I doubt, in this point may the Daughter:* Languages, *for the moſt part, in terms of* Art *and* Erudition, *retaining their Original poverty, and rather growing rich and abundant in complemental Phraſes and ſuch froth. Touching divers* Modern *men that have written out of meer practiſe, I ſhall give them their due upon occaſion.*

And now, after this ſhort Cenſure of others, I would fain ſatisfie an Objection *or two, which ſeem to lye ſomewhat heavily upon my ſelfe: It will be ſayd, That I handle an* Art, *no way ſutable either to my* Imployments, *or to my* Fortune. *And ſo I ſhall ſtand charged, both with* Intruſion, *and with* Impertinency.

To the firſt I anſwer, That though by the ever-acknowledged goodneſs of my moſt dear *and* gracious *Soveraign, and by his long indulgent tolerations of my defects, I have born abroad ſome part of his* civil *ſervice; yet when I came home, and was again reſolved into mine own ſimplicity, I found it fitter for my* Pen *(at leaſt in this firſt Publick adventure) to deal with theſe plain* Compilements, *and tractable* Materials, *then with the* Laberynths *and* Myſteries *of* Courts *and* States: *And leſs preſumption for me, who have long contemplated a famous* Republick, *to*

write

write now of Architecture, *then it was anciently for* * Hippodamus *the* Meleſian, *to write of* Republiques, *who was himſelf but an* Architect.

* Ariſtot. 2. l. Polit. c. 6.

To the Second, *I muſt ſhrink up my ſhoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confeſs indeed, that my fortune is very unable to* exemplifie *and* actuate *my* Speculations *in this* Art, *which yet in truth, made me the rather even from my very diſability, take encouragement to hope, that my preſent* Labour *would find the more favour in others, ſince it was undertaken for no mans* ſake *leſs then mine* own. *And with that confidence, I fell into theſe thoughts; Of which, there were two wayes to be delivered; The one* Hiſtorical, *by deſcription of the principal* Works, *performed already in good part by* Goirgio Vaſſari *in the Lives of* Architects. *The other* Logical, *by caſting the rules and cautions of this* Art *into ſome comportable* Method, *whereof I have made choice, not onely as the ſhorteſt and moſt* Elemental, *but indeed as the ſoundeſt. For though in practical* knowledges, *every compleat* Example *may bear the credit of a* Rule; *yet peradventure* Rules *ſhould precede, that we may by them be made fit to judge of* Examples: *Therefore to the* purpoſe; *for I will preface no longer.*

OF THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE.

The First Part.

IN *Architecture*, as in all other *Operative* Arts. the *End* must direct the *Operation.*

The *End* is to build well.

Well-building hath three Conditions, *Commodity*, *Firmness*, and *Delight.*

A common Division among the Deliverers of this *Art*, though I know not how, somewhat misplaced by *Vitruvius* himself, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. whom I shall be willinger to follow as a Master of *Proportion*, then of *Method.*

Now, For the attaining of these *Intentions*, we may consider the whole *Subject* under two general Heads:

The

The *Seat*, and the *Work*.

Therefore first touching *Situation*.

The *Precepts* thereunto belonging, do either concern the *Total Posture* (as I may term it) or the *Placing* of the *Parts*; whereof the first sort, howsoever usually set down by *Architects* as a piece of their *Profession*, yet are in truth borrowed from other *Learnings*: there being between *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as between *Men*, a kind of good fellowship, and communication of their *Principles*.

For you shall finde some of them to be meerly *Physical*, touching the quality and temper of the *Aire*: which being a perpetual ambient and ingredient, and the defects thereof incorrigible in single *Habitations* (which I most intend) doth in those respects require the more exquisite caution: That it be not too *gross*, nor too *penetrative*; Not subject to any foggy noisomness, from *Fens* or *Marshes* neer adjoyning; nor to *Mineral* Exhalations from the Soil it self. Not indigested, for want of *Sun*: Not unexercised, for want of *Wind*: which were to live, as it were, in a *Lake*, or standing *Pool* of *Aire*, as *Alberti* the *Florentine Architect* doth ingeniously compare it.

Some do rather seem a little *Astrological*, as when they warn us from places of malign *Influence*, where *Earth-quakes*, *Contagions*, *Prodigious births*, or the like, are frequent without any evident cause, whereof the Consideration is peredventure not altogether vain: Some are plainly *Oeconomical*, as that the *Seat* be well watered, and well fuelled; that it be not of too steep and incommodious *Access*, to the trouble both of *Friends* and *Family*; that it lye not too far from some *Navigable River*, or *Arm* of the *Sea*, for more ease of *provision*, and such other *Domestic* notes.

Some again may be said to be *Optical*: Such I mean as concern the *Properties* of a well chosen *Prospect*, which I will call the *Royalty of Sight*. For as there is a *Lordship*, as it were, of the *Fee*, wherein the Master doth much joy when he walketh about the *Line* of his own *Possessions*: So there is a *Lordship* likewise of the *Eye*, which being a Ranging, and Imperious, and (I might say) an *Usurping Sense*, can indure no narrow *Circumscription*; but must be fed both with extent and variety. Yet on the other side, I find vast and indifinite views which drown all apprehension of the uttermost *Objects*, condemned by good Authors, as if thereby some part of the pleasure, whereof we speak, did perish. Lastly, I remember a private *Caution*, which I know not well how to sort, unless I should call it *Political*: By no means, to build too neer a great *Neighbour*; which were, in truth, to be as unfortunately seated on the Earth, as *Mercury* is in the Heavens, for the most part, ever in *combustion* or *obscurity* under brighter beams then his own.

From these several *Knowledges*, as I have said, and perhaps from some other, do *Architects* derive their Doctrine about Election of *Seats*: wherein I have not been so severe as a * great Scholer of our time, who precisely restraineth a perfect *Situation*, at least for the maine point of health, *Ad locum contra quem Sol radios suos fundit cum sub Ariete oritur*: That is, in a word, he would have the first *Salutation* of the *Spring*. But such *Notes* as these, whersoever we find them in grave or slight Authours, are to my conceit rather *Wishes* then *Precepts*, and in that quality I will pass them over. Yet I must withal say, That in the *seating* of our selves

* *Joannes Heurnius Institt. Medicin. lib. 7. cap. 2.*

(which

(which is a kind of *Marriage* to a *Place.*) *Builders* ſhould be as circumſpect as *Wooers*, leſt when all is done, that *Doom* befall us, which our Maſter doth lay upon *Mytelene: A Town, in truth* (ſaith he) *finely built, but fooliſhly planted.* And ſo much touching that which I termed the *Total Poſture.*

Opidum quidem edificatum elegenter, ſed imprudenter poſitum.

The next in Order is the placing of the *Parts*; About which (to leave as little as I may in my preſent labour, unto *Fancie*, which is wild and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine own Collection, upon which I fell in this manner. I had noted, that all *Art* was then in trueſt perfection, when it might be reduced to ſome natural *Principle.* For what are the moſt judicious *Artiſans*, but the *Miniques* of *Nature?* This led me to contemplate the Fabrick of our own bodies, wherein the *High Architect* of the World had diſplayed ſuch skill, as did ſtupifie all humane Reaſon. There I found the *Heart*, as the Fountain of Life, placed about the Middle, for the more equal communication of the vital ſpirits. The *Eyes* ſeated aloft, that they might deſcribe the greater Circle within their view. The *Arms* projected on each ſide, for eaſe of reaching. Briefly (not to loſe our ſelves in this ſpeculation) it plainly appeareth, as a *Maxime* drawn from the Divine Light, That the Place of every part is to be determined by the *Uſe.*

So then from Natural *Structure*, to proceed to Artificial; and in the rudeſt things, to preſerve ſome *Image* of the excellenteſt, Let all the principal Chambers of *Delight*, all *Studies* and *Libraries*, be toward the *Eaſt*: For the Morning is a Friend to the Muſes. All Offices that require heat, as *Kitchins*, *Stillatories*,

Stillatories, *Stoves*, rooms for *baking*, *brewing*, *washing*, or the like; would be *Meridional*. All that need a cool and fresh temper, as *Cellers*, *Pantries*, *Buteries*, *Granaries*, to the *North*. To the same side likewise all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as *Galleries*, especially in warme Climes; or that otherwise require a steady and unvariable light, as *Pinacothecia* (saith *Vitruvius*) by which he intendeth (if I might guess at his *Greek*, as we must do often even at his *Latin*) certain *Repositories* for works of Rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the *Italians* called *Studioli*; which at any other Quarter where the course of the *Sun* doth diversifie the *Shadows*, would lose much of their grace. And by this Rule, having alwayes regard to the *Use*, any other Part may be fitly accommodated.

I must here not omit to note, That the Ancient *Grecians*, and the *Romans* by their example, in their Buildings abroad, where the *Seat* was free, did almost Religiously situate the *Front* of their Houses towards the South: perhaps that the Masters *Eye*, when he came home, might not be dazled, or that being illustrated by the *Sun*, it might yield the more graceful Aspect, or some such reason. But from this the Modern *Italians* do vary, whereof I shall speak more in another place. Let thus much suffice at the present for the *Position* of the several *Members*, wherein must be had, as our Authour doth often insinuate, and especially *lib.* 6. *cap.* 10. a singular regard to the nature of the *Region*: Every Nation being tyed above all Rules whatsoever, to a discretion of providing against their own *Inconveniences*: And therefore a good *Parlour* in *Ægypt*, would perchance make a good *Cellar* in *England*.

There

There now followeth the second Branch of the general *Section* touching the *Work*.

In the *Work*, I will first consider the principal parts, and afterwards the Accessory, or *Ornaments*; And in the Principal, first the Preparation of the *Materials*; and then the Disposition, which is the *Form*.

Now, concerning the *Material* Part; Although surely it cannot disgrace an *Architect*, which doth so well become a Philosopher, to look into the Properties of *Stone* and *Wood*: as that Firtrees, Cypresses, Cedars, and such other *Aereal* aspiring *Plants*, being by a kind of natural rigour (which in a Man I would call Pride) inflexible downwards, are thereby fittest for *Posts* or *Pillars*, or such upright use: that on the other side, Oak, and the like true hearty Timber, being strong in all Positions, may be better trusted in cross and traverse Work; for *Summers*, or girding or binding *Beams*, as they term them. And so likewise to observe of *Stone*, that some are better within, and other to bear *Weather*: Nay, to descend lower, even to examine *Sand*, and *Lyme* and *Clay* (of all which things *Vitruvius* hath discoursed, without any daintiness; and the most of new Writers) I say, though the *Speculative* Part of such knowledge be *liberal*: yet to redeem this Profession, and my present pains from indignity; *I* must here remember, That to choose and sort the *Materials* for every part of the *Fabrick*, is a Duty more proper to a second *Superintendent* over all the Under-Artisans, called (as I take it) by our Authour, *Officinator lib. 6. cap.* 11. and in that place expressly distinguished from the *Architect*, whose glory doth more consist in the Designment, and *Idea* of the whole *Work*; and his truest

trueſt ambition ſhould be to make the *Form*, which is the nobler Part, as it were, triumph over the *Matter*: whereof I cannot but mention by the way, a forrein Patron; namely, the Church of *Santa Giuſtana* in *Padoua*: In truth, a ſound piece of good Art, where the *Materials* being but ordinary Stone, without any garniſhment of Sculpture, do yet raviſh the beholder (and he knows not how) by a ſecret *Harmony* in the *Proportions*. And this indeed is that end, at which in ſome degree we ſhould aim even in the priveteſt works: whereunto though I make haſt, yet let me firſt collect a few of the leaſt trivial Cautions belonging to the *Material* Proviſions.

Leon Batiſta Alberti is ſo curious, as to wiſh all the *Timber* cut out of the ſame *Forreſt*, and all the *Stone* out of the ſame *Quarry*.

Philibert de 'l Orme the *French Architect* goes yet ſomewhat further, and would have the *Lyme* made of the very ſame *Stone*, which we intend to imploy in the *Work*; as, belike, imagining, that they will ſympathize and joyn the better by a kind of *Original* kindred. But ſuch conceits as theſe, ſeem ſomewhat too fine among this *Rubbage*, though I do not produce them in ſport. For ſurely, the like agreements of nature may have oftentimes a diſcreet application to Art. Alwayes it muſt be confeſſed, that to make *Lyme* without any great choice, of refuſe ſtuffe, as we commonly do, is an *Engliſh* errour of no ſmall moment in our Buildings. Whereas the *Italians* at this day, and much more the *Ancient*, did burn their firmeſt *Stone*, and even fragments of *Marble*, where it was copious, which in time became almoſt *Marble* again, or at leaſt of indiſſoluble durity, as appeareth in the ſtanding *Theaters*.

I muſt

I must here not omit, while I am speaking of this part, a certain form of *Brick* described by *D. Barbaro*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, in the largest Edition of his Commentary upon *Vitruvius*. The Figure triangular, every side a foot long, and some inch and a ½ thick, which he doth commend unto us for many good conditions: As that they are more commodious in the management, of less expence, of fairer show, adding much beauty and strength to the *Mural Angles*, where they fall gracefully into an indented *Work*; so as I should wonder that we have not taken them into use, being prpounded by a man of good authority in this knowledge; but that all Nations do start at *Novelties*, and are indeed marryed to their own *Moulds*. Into this place might aptly fall a doubt, which some have well moved; whether the ancient *Italians* did burn their *Brick* or no; which a passage or two in *Vitruvius* hath left Ambiguous. Surely, where the *Natural* heat is strong enough to supply the *Artificial*, it were but a curious folly to multiply both *Labour* and *Expence*. And it is besides, very probable, that those *Materials* with a kindly and temperate heat would prove fairer, smoother, and less distorted, then with a violent: Onely they suffer two exceptions. First, that by such a gentle drying much time will be lost, which might otherwise be employed in compiling. Next, That they will want a certain sucking and soaking *Thirstiness*, or a fiery appetite to drink in the *Lime*, which must knit the *Fabrick*. But this question may be confined to the *South*, where there is more Sun and patience. I will therefore not hinder my course, with this incident scruple, but close that part which I have now in hand, about the *Materials*, with a principal caution: That sufficient

Stuff

Stuff and *Money* be ever ready before we begin: For when we build now a piece, and then another by fits, the *Work* dries and sinks unequally, whereby the Walls grow full of *Chinks* and *Crevices*; therefore such pawsings are well reproved by *Palladio*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. and by all other. And so having gleaned these few remembrances touching the preparation of the *Matter*, I may now proceed to the *Disposition* thereof, which must form the *Work*. In the *Form*, as I did in the *Seat*, I will first consider the general *Figuration*, and then the several *Members*.

Figures are either simple or mixed. The simple be either *Circular* or *Angular*. And of circular either *Compleat* or *Deficient*, as *Ovals*; with which kinds I will be contented, though the Distribution might be more curious.

Now the exact *Circle* is in truth a Figure, which for our purpose hath many fit and eminent properties; as fitness for Commodity and Receipt, being the most capable, fitness for strength and duration, being the most united in his parts; fitness for beauty and delight, as imitating the Celestial *Orbs*, and the universal *Form*. And it seems besides, to have the approbation of *nature*, when she worketh by *Instinct*, which is her secret School: For Birds do build their Nests *Spherically*: But notwithstanding these Attributes, it is in truth a very unprofitable Figure in private *Fabricks*, as being of all other the most chargable, and much room lost in the bending of the *Walls*, when it comes to be divided, besides an ill distribution of light, except from the Center of the *Roof*. So as anciently it was not usual, save in their *Temples* and *Amphi-Theaters*, which needed no Compartitions. The *Ovals* and other imperfect

secular

ecular Forms, have the ſame exceptions, and leſs benefit of capacity: So as there remains to be conſidered in this general ſurvey of *Figures*, the *Angular* and the *Mixed* of both. Touching the *Angular*, it may perchance ſound ſomewhat ſtrangely, but it is a true obſervation, that this *Art* doth neither love many *Angles*, nor few. For firſt, the *Triangle*, which hath the feweſt ſides and corners, is of all other the moſt condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirme (whereof the reaſon ſhall be afterwards rendred) and likewiſe unreſolvable into any other regular *Form* then it ſelf in the inward *Partitions*.

As for Figures of five, ſix, ſeven, or more *Angles*: They are ſurely fitter for *Militar Architecture* (where the Bulworks may be layd out at the *Corners*, and the ſides ſerve for *Curtains*) then for civil uſe; though I am not ignorant of that famous Piece at *Capralora*, belonging to the Houſe of *Farneſe*, caſt by *Baroccio* into the form of a *Pentagone*, with a Circle inſcribed, where the *Architect* did ingeniouſly wreſtle with divers inconveniences in diſpoſing of the *Lights*, and in ſaving the vacuities. But as deſigns of ſuch nature do more aym at Rarity then Commodity; ſo, for my part, I had rather admire them then commend them.

Theſe things conſidered, we are both by the Precepts, and by the Practice of the beſt Builders, to reſolve upon *Rectangular Squares*, as a mean between too few and too many Angles; and through the equal inclination of the ſides (which make the right Angle) ſtronger then the *Rhombe*, or *Loſenge*, or any other irregular *Square*. But whether the exact *Quadrat*, or the long *Square* be the better, I find not well determined, though in mine owne

conceit,

conceit, I must prefer the latter; provided that the *Length* do not exceed the *Latitude* above one third part, which would diminish the beauty of the *Aspect*, as shall appear when I come to speak of *Symmetry* and *Proportion*.

Of mixed Figures, partly *Circular*, and partly *Angular*, I shall need to say nothing; because having handled the simple already, the mixed according to their composition, do participate of the same respects. Onely against these, there is a proper *Objection*, that they offend *Uniformity*: Whereof I am therefore oppertunely induced to say somewhat, as far as shall concern the outward *Aspect*, which is now in Discourse.

In *Architecture*, there may seem to be two opposite affectations, *Uniformity* and *Variety*, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilement, as we may see in the great Pattern of *Nature*, to which I must often resort: For surely, there can be no *Structure* more uniform then our *Bodies* in the whole *Figuration*: Each side agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the quality, and in the measure of the Parts: And yet some are round, as the *Arms*; some flat, as the *Hands*; some prominent, and some more retired: So as upon the matter we see that *Diversity* doth not destroy *Uniformity*, and that the Limbs of a noble *Fabrick* may be correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided always, that we do not run into certain extravagant Inventions, whereof I shall speak more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole *Work*. We ought likewise to avoyd Enormous heights of six or seven *Stories*, as well as irregular *Forms*; and the contrary fault of low distended *Fronts*, is as unseemly: Or again, when the

the *Face* of the Building is narrow, and the *Flank* deep: To all which extreames ſome particular Nations or Towns are ſubject, whoſe Names may be civilly ſpared: And ſo much for the general *Figuration*, or *Aſpect* of the *Work*.

Now concerning the Parts in Severalty. All the parts of every *Fabrick* may be compriſed under five Heads, which Diviſion I receive from *Batiſta Alberti*, to do him right. And they be theſe:

The *Foundation*.
The *Walls*.
The *Appertions*, or *Overtures*.
The *Compartition*.
And the *Cover*.

About all which I purpoſe to gather the principal Cautions, and as I paſs along, I will touch alſo the natural Reaſons of *Art*, that my Diſcourſe may be the leſs *Mechanical*.

Firſt then concerning the *Foundation*, which requireth the exacteſt care; For if that happen to dance, it will mar all the mirth in the Houſe: Therefore that we may found our Habitation firmly, we muſt firſt examine the *Bed* of *Earth* (as I may term it,) upon which we will Build; and then the underfillings, or *ſubſtruction*, as the Ancients did call it: For the former, we have a general Precept in *Vitruvius*, twice preciſely repeated by him, as a Point indeed of main conſequence; firſt, *l.* 1. *c.* 5. And again more fitly, *l.* 3. *c.* 3. in theſe words, as *Philander* doth well correct the vulgar Copies: *Subſtructionis Fundationes fodiantur* (ſaith he) *ſi queant inveniri ad ſolidum, & in ſolido.* By which words I conceive him to commend unto us, not only a diligent, but even a jealous examination what the *Soil* will bear: adviſing us, not to reſt upon any

appearing *solidity*, unless the whole *Mould* through which we cut, hath likewise been *solid*; but how deep we should go in this search, he hath no where to my remembrance determined, as perhaps depending more upon *Discretion*, then *Regularity*, according to the weight of the *Work*; yet *Andrea Palladio* hath fairly adventured to reduce it into Rule: Allowing for that *Cavazione* (as he calleth it) a sixth part of the height of the whole *Fabricke*, unless the Cellers be under ground, in which case he would have us (as it should seem) to found somewhat lower.

Under-digging, or Hollowing of the Earth.

Some *Italians* do prescribe, that when they have chosen the *Floor*, or Plot, and laid out the Limits of the *Work*, we should first of all Dig *Wells* and *Cisterns*, and other Under-conducts and Conveyances, for the *Suillage* of the House, whence may arise a double benefit: for both the nature of the *Mould* or *Soil*; would thereby be safely searched, and moreover those open vents will serve to discharge such *Vapours*, as having otherwise no issue might peradventure shake the Building. This is enough for the natural Grounding; which though it be not a Part of the solid *Fabrick*, yet here was the fittest place to handle it.

There followeth the *Substruction*, or Groundwork of the whole *Edifice*, which must sustain the *Walls*; and this is a kind of *Artificial* Foundation as the other was *Natural*. About which these are the chief Remembrances: First, that the bottom be precisely level, where the *Italians* therefore commonly lay a platform of good Board; Then the lowest *Ledge* or *Row* be meerly of *Stone*, and broader the better, closely laid, without *Morter*

which

which is a general Caution for all parts in building, that are contiguous to *Board* or *Timber*, because *Lime* and *Wood* are insociable; and if any where unfit Confiners, then most especially in the *Foundation*. Thirdly, that the breadth of the *Substruction* be at least double to the *insistent Wall*, and more or less, as the weight of the *Fabrick* shall require; for as I must again repeat, *Discretion* may be freer then *Art*. Lastly, I find in some a curious precept, that the *Materials* below, be laid as they grew in the *Quarry*, supposing them belike to have most strength in their *Natural* and *Habitual* Posture. For as *Philippe de l'Orme* observeth, the breaking or yielding of a stone in this part, but the breadth of the back of a knife, will make a *Cleft* of more then half a foot in the *Fabrick* aloft: So important are *fundamental Errors*. Among which notes I have said nothing of *Pallification*, or *Pyling* of the *Ground-plot*, commanded by *Vitruvius*, when we build upon a moist or marshy *Soil*, because that were an errour in the first choice. And therefore all *Seats* that must use such provision below (as *Venice* for an eminent example) would perhaps upon good enquiry, be found to have been at first chosen by the Counsel of *Necessity*.

Now the *Foundation* being searched, and the *Substruction* laid, we must next speak of the *Walls*.

Walls are either entire and continual, or intermitted; and the *Intermissions* be either *Pillars* or *Pylasters*; for here I had rather handle them, then, as some others do, among *Ornaments*.

The entire *Muring*, is by Writers diversly distinguished: By some, according to the quality of the *Materials*, as either *Stone* or *Brick*, &c. Where, by the way, let me note, that to build *Walls* and

greater works of *Flint*, whereof we want not example in our *Iſland*, and particularly in the Province of *Kent*, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the *Ancients*, who obſerving in that *Material*, a kind of *Metalical* Nature, or at leaſt a *Fuſibility*, ſeem to have reſolved it into nobler uſe; an Art now utterly loſt, or perchance kept up by a few *Chymicks*. Some again do not ſo much conſider the quality, as the *Poſition* of the ſaid *Materials*: As when Brick or ſquared Stones are laid in their lengths with ſides and heads together, or their Points conjoyned like a *Net-work* (for ſo *Vitruvius* doth call it *reticulatum opus*) of familiar uſe (as it ſhould ſeem) in his Age, though afterwards grown out of requeſt, even perhaps for that ſubtil ſpeculation which he himſelf toucheth; becauſe ſo laid, they are more apt in ſwagging down, to pierce with their points, then in the jacent Poſture, and ſo to crevice the *Wall*: But to leave ſuch cares to the meaner Artificers, the more eſſential are theſe.

That the *Walls* be moſt exactly perpendicular to the *Ground-work*, for the right *Angle* (thereon depending) is the true cauſe of all *ſtability*, both in Artificial and Natural Poſitions: A man likewiſe ſtanding firmeſt, when he ſtands uprighteſt. That the Maſſieſt and heavieſt *Materials* be the loweſt, as fitter to bear, then to be born. That the *Work*, as it riſeth, diminiſh in *thickneſs* proportionally, for eaſe both of weight, and of expence. That certain *Courſes* or *Ledges* of more ſtrength then the reſt, be interlayed like *Bones*, to ſuſtain the *Fabrick* from total ruine, if the under parts ſhould decay. Laſtly, that the *Angles* be firmly bound, which are the *Nerves* of the whole *Edifice*, and therefore are com-

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monly fortified by the *Italians*, even in their Brick buildings, on each ſide of the corners, with well ſquared Stone, yielding both ſtrength and grace. And ſo much touching the entire or ſolid *Wall*.

The Intermiſſions (as hath been ſaid) are either by *Pillars*, or *Pyliaſters*.

Pillars, which we may likewiſe call *Columnes* (for the word among Artificers is almoſt naturalized) I could diſtinguiſh into *Simple* and *Compounded*. But (to tread the beaten and plaineſt way) there are five *Orders* of *Pillars*, according to their dignity and perfection, thus marſhalled.

The *Tuſcan*.
The *Dorique*.
The *Ionique*.
The *Corinthian*.
And the *Compound Order*, or as ſome call it, the *Roman*, others more generally the *Italian*.

In which five *Orders*; I will firſt conſider their *Communities*, and then their *Proprieties*.

Their *Communities* (as far as I obſerve) are Principally three. Firſt, they are all *Round*; for though ſome conceive *Columna Atticurges*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. to have been a ſquared Pillar, yet we muſt paſs it over as irregular, never received among theſe *Orders*, no more then certain other licentious inventions; of *Wreathed*, and *Vined*, and *Figured Columnes*, which our Author himſelf condemneth, being in his whole Book a profeſſed enemy to *Fancies*.

Secondly, they are all *Diminiſhed* or *Contracted* inſenſibly, more or leſs, according to the proportion of their heights, from one third part of the whole *Shaft* upwards, which *Philander* doth preſcribe by his own preciſe meaſuring of the Ancient

remainders, as the moſt gracefull *Diminution*. And here I muſt take leave to blame a practice grown (I know not how) in certain places too familiar, of making *Pillars* ſwell in the middle, as if they were ſick of ſome *Tympany*, or *Dropſie*, without any Authentique Pattern or Rule, to my knowledge, and unſeemely to the very judgement of ſight. True it is, that in *Vitruvius*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. we find theſe words, *De adjectione, quæ adjicitur in mediis Columnis, quæ apud Græcos Ἔντασις appellatur, in extremo libro erit formatio ejus*; which paſſage ſeemeth to have given ſome countenance to this errour. But of the promiſe there made, as of divers other elſewhere, our Maſter hath failed us, either by ſlip of memory, or injury of time, and ſo we are left in the dark. Alwayes ſure I am, that beſides the authority of example which it wanteth; it is likewiſe contrary to the Original and Natural *Type*, in *Trees*, which at firſt was imitated in *Pillars*, as *Vitruvius* himſelf obſerveth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. For who ever ſaw any *Cypreſs*, or *Pine* (which are there alledged) ſmall below and above, and tumerous in the middle; unleſs it were ſome diſeaſed Plant, as Nature (though otherwiſe the comelieſt *Miſtreſs*) hath now and then her deformities and *Irregularities*?

Thirdly, they have all their *Under-ſettings*, or *Pediſtals*, in height a third part of the whole *Columne*, comprehending the *Baſe* and *Capital*; and their upper Adjuncts, as *Architrave*, *Frize*, and *Cornice*, a fourth part of the ſaid Pillar; which rule, of ſingular uſe and facility, I find ſetled by *Jacobo Baroccio*; and hold him a more credible Author, as a man that moſt intended this piece, then any that vary from him in thoſe *Dimenſions*.

Theſe

These are their most considerable *Communities* and agreements.

Their *Proprieties* or *Distinctions* will best appear by some reasonable description of them altogether, with their *Architraves*, *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, as they are usually handled.

First therefore, the *Tuscan* is a plain, massie, rural Pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limb'd Labourer, homely clad, in which kind of comparisons *Vitruvius* himself seemeth to take pleasure, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. The length thereof shall be six *Diameters*, of the grossest of the Pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most natural; For our Author tells us, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. that the foot of a man is the sixth part of his body in ordinary measure, and *Man* himself according to the saying of *Protagoras* (which *Aristotle* doth somewhere vouchsafe to celebrate) is τὸ πᾶν ἀνάλογον χειμάτων μέτρον, as it were, the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetrie*, which we have had other occasions to touch before: This *Columne* I have by good warrant called *Rural*, *Vitruv. cap.* 2. *lib.* 3. And therefore we need not consider his rank among the rest. The distance or *Intercolumniation* (which word Artificers do usually borrow) may be near four of his own *Diameters*, because the *Materials* commonly layd over this Pillar, were rather of wood then stone; through the lightness whereof the *Architrave* could not suffer, though thinly supported, nor the *Columne* it self, being so substantial. The *Contraction* aloft shall be (according to the most received practice) one fourth part of his thickness below. To conclude, for I intend only as much as shall serve for a due Distinguishment, and not to delineate every petty member) the *Tuscan* is of all the rudest Pillar, and his Principal Character *Simplicity*.

The *Dorique Order* is the graveſt that hath been received into civil uſe, preſerving, in compariſon of thoſe that follow, a more *Maſculine Aſpect*, and little trimmer then the *Tuſcan* that went before, ſave a ſober garniſhment now and then of *Lions heads* in the *Cornice*, and of *Tryglyphs* and *Metopes* alwayes in the *Frize*. Sometimes likewiſe, but rarely, channeled, and a little ſlight Sculpture about the *Hypotrachelion* or *Neck*, under the *Capital*. The length, ſeven *Diameters*. His rank or degree, is the loweſt by all *Congruity*, as being more maſſie then the other three, and conſequently abler to ſupport. The *Intercolumniation*, thrice as much as his thickneſs below. The *Contraction* aloft, one fifth of the ſame meaſure. To diſcern him, will be a piece rather of good *Heraldry*, then of *Architecture*: For he is beſt known by his place when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his *Frize* (before mentioned) when he is alone.

The *Ionique Order* doth repreſent a kind of Feminine ſlenderneſs, yet ſaith *Vitruvius*, not like a light Houſe-wife, but in a decent dreſſing, hath much of the *Matron*. The length eight *Diameters*. In degree as in ſubſtantialneſs, next above the *Dorique*, ſuſtaining the third, and adorning the ſecond Story. The *Intercolumniation* two of his own *Diameters*. The *Contraction* one ſixth part. Beſt known by his trimmings, for the body of this *Columne* is perpetually channelled, like a thick pleighted Gown. The *Capital* dreſſed on each ſide, not much unlike Womens Wires, in a ſpiral wreathing, which they call the *Ionian Voluta*. The *Cornice* indented. The *Frize* ſwelling like a pillow: And therefore by *Vitruvius*, not unelegantly termed *Pulvinata*. Theſe are his beſt *Characters*.

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The *Corinthian*, is a *Columne* laſciviouſly decked like a Curtezan, and therein much participating (as all Inventions do) of the place where they were firſt born: *Corinth* having been (without controverſie) one of the wantoneſt Towns in the world. This *Order* is of nine *Diameters*. His degree, one Stage above the *Ionique*, and alwayes the higheſt of the ſimple *Orders*. The *Intercolumniation* two of his *Diameters*, and a fourth part more, which is of all other the comelieſt diſtance. The Contraction one ſeventh part. In the *Cornice* both *Dentelli* and *Modiglioni*. The *Frize*, adorned with all kinds of *Figures* and various Compartments at Pleaſure. The Capitals, cut into the beautifulleſt leaf, that Nature doth yield; which ſurely, next the *Acanthus Pardalianches* (rejected perchance as an ominous Plant) is the *Acanthus*, or *Brancha Urſina*; though *Vitruvius* doth impute the choice thereof unto Chance, and we muſt be contented to believe him: In ſhort, As *Plainneſs* did Characterize the *Tuſcan*, ſo muſt *Delicacy* and *Variety* the *Corinthian* Pillar; beſides the height of his Rank.

Our Artizans call them Tooth and Cartouzes.

The laſt is the Compounded *Order*: His *name* being a brief of his *nature*. For this Pillar is nothing in effect, but a *medly*, or an *amaſſe* of all the precedent *Ornaments*, making a new kind, by ſtealth; and though the moſt richly tricked, yet the pooreſt in this, that he is a borrower of all his Beauty. His length, (that he may have ſomewhat of his own) ſhall be of ten *Diameters*. His degree ſhould, no doubt, be the higheſt, by reaſons before yielded. But few *Palaces*, Ancient or Modern, exceed the third of the Civil *Orders*. The

Inter-

Intercolumniation but a *Diameter* and an half, or alwayes somewhat leſs then two. The Contraction of this Pillar muſt be one eighth Part leſs above then below. To know him will be eaſie by the very mixture of his *Ornaments*, and Clothing.

And ſo much touching the five *Orders* of Columnes, which I will conclude with two or three not impertinent Cautions:

Firſt, that where more of theſe *Orders* then one, ſhall be ſet in ſeveral *Stories* or *Contignations*, there muſt be an exquiſite care to place the *Columnes* preciſely one over another, that ſo the *ſolid* may anſwer to the *ſolid*, and the *vacuities* to the *vacuities*, as well for *Beauty*, as ſtrength of the *Fabrick*: And by this Caution the Conſequence is plain, that when we ſpeak of the *Intercolumniation* or *Diſtance* which is due to each *Order*, we mean in a *Dorique*, *Ionical*, *Corinthian Porch*, or *Cloiſter*, or the like of one *Contignation*, and not in Storied buildings.

Secondly, Let the *Columnes* above be a fourth part leſs then thoſe below, ſaith *Vitruvius*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. A ſtrange Precept in my opinion; and ſo ſtrange, that peradventure it were more ſutable, even to his own Principles, to make them rather a fourth part greater. For *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. where our Maſter handleth the *Contractions* of Pillars, we have an *Optique* Rule, that the higher they are, the leſs ſhould be alwayes their diminution aloft, becauſe the *Eye* it ſelf doth naturally contract all *Objects* more or leſs, according to the *Diſtance*; which Conſideration may, at firſt ſight, ſeem to have been forgotten in the Caution we have now given; but *Vitruvius* (the beſt Interpreter of himſelf) hath in the ſame place of his fifth Book well acquitted his Memory by theſe words: *Columnæ ſuperiores quarta*

parte

parte minores, quàm inferiores, ſunt conſtituenda; propterea quòd, operi ferendo quæ ſunt inferiora, firmiora eſſe debent; preferring like a wiſe Mechanick, the *natural* Reaſon before the *Mathematical*, and ſenſible conceits before abſtracted. And yet *lib.* 4. *cap.*4. he ſeemeth again to affect *Subtilty*, allowing Pillars the more they are chaneled, to be the more ſlender; becauſe while our *Eye* (ſaith he) doth as it were diſtinctly meaſure the eniment and the hollowed parts, the Total Object appeareth the bigger, and ſo as much as thoſe excavations do ſubtract, is ſupplied by a *Fallacy* of the *Sight*: But here me thinks, our Maſter ſhould likewiſe have rather conſidered the natural inconvenience; for though Pillars by channeling, be ſeemingly ingroſſed to our Sight, yet they are truly weakened in themſelves; and therefore ought perchance in ſound reaſon not to be the more ſlender, but the more corpulent, unleſs apparences preponder truths; but *Contra Magiſtrum non eſt diſputandum.*

A third Caution ſhall be, that all the *projected* or *jutting* parts (as they are termed) be very moderate, eſpecially, the *Cornices* of the lower *Orders*; for whileſt ſome think to give them a beautifull and royal Aſpect by their largeneſs, they ſometimes hinder both the Light within, (whereof I ſhall ſpeak more in due place) and likewiſe detract much from the view of the *Front* without, as well appeareth in one of the principal Fabricks at *Venice*, namely, the Palace of the Duke *Grimani* on the *Canal Grande*, which by this magnificent errour, is ſomewhat diſgraced: I need now ſay no more concerning *Columnes* and their *Adjuncts*, about which Architects make ſuch a noiſe in their Books,

as if the very terms of *Architraves*, and *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, and the like, were enough to graduate a Master of this *Art*: yet let me before I pass to other matter, prevent a familiar Objection; It will perchance be said, that all this Doctrine touching the five *Orders*, were fitter for the *Quarries* of *Asia*, which yielded 127 *Columnes* of 60 *Foot* high to the *Ephesian Temple*; or for *Numidia*, where *Marbles* abound; then for the *Spirits* of *England*, who must be contented with more ignoble *Materials*: To which I answer, That this need not discourage us: For I have often at *Venice* viewed with much pleasure, an *Atrium Græcum* (we may translate it an *Anti porch*, after the Greek manner) raised by *Andrea Palladio*, upon eight *Columnes* of the *compounded Order*: The *Bases* of Stone, without *Pedistals*: The *Shafts* or Bodies of meer Brick, three Foot and an half thick in the *Diameter* below, and consequently thirty five Foot high, as himself hath described them in his second Book: Then which, mine Eye hath never yet beheld any Columnes more stately of Stone or Marble; For the Bricks having first been formed in a *circular Mould*, and then cut before their burning into four Quarters or more, the sides afterwards joyn so closely, and the points concenter so exactly, that the *Pillar* appear one *entire Peece*; which short description I could not omit, that thereby may appear, how in truth we want rather *Art* then Stuff, to satisfie our greatest *Fancies*.

After *Pillars*, the next in my distribution are *Pilasters*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. and scant any where else under the name of *Parastates*, as *Philander* conceiveth, which *Grammatical* Point (though perchance not very clear) I am content-

ed to examine no further. Alwayes, what we mean by the thing it self is plain enough in our own vulgar; Touching which, I will briefly collect the most considerable Notes.

Pylasters must not be too tall and slender, lest they resemble *Pillars*; nor too *Dwarfish* and gross, lest they imitate the *Piles* or *Peers* of Bridges; Smoothness doth not so naturally become them, as a Rustick *Superficies*; for they aim more at *State* and *Strength*, then *Elegancy*. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower then one Third, nor broader then two parts of the whole Vacuity between *Pylaster* and *Pylaster*; but to those that stand at the Corners, may be allowed a little more Latitude by discretion, for strength of the *Angles*: In *Theaters* and *Amphi theaters*, and such weighty Works, *Palladio* observeth them, to have been as broad as the half, and now and then as the whole *Vacuity*: He noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their true *Proportion* should be an exact *Square*; But for lessening of expence, and inlarging of room, they are commonly narrower in *Flank*, then in *Front*: Their principal *Grace* doth consist in half or whole *Pillars* applied unto them; in which case it is well noted by Authors, that the Columnes may be allowed somewhat above their ordinary length, because they lean unto so good *Supporters*. And thus much shall suffice touching *Pylasters*, which is a cheap, and a strong, and a noble kind of *Structure*.

Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty, and Majesty, found *arched*, then otherwise; I am here orderly led to speak of *Arches*, and under the same head of *Vaults*: for an *Arch* is nothing indeed but a contracted *Vault*, and a *Vault* is but a dilated

Arch:

Arch: Therefore to handle this Piece both compendiously, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole buſineſs into a few *Theorems*.

Theorem 1.

All ſolid *Materials* free from impediment, do deſcend *perpendicularly* downwards, becauſe *Ponderoſity* is a natural inclination to the Center of the World, and *Nature* performeth her Motions by the ſhorteſt lines.

Theorem 2.

Bricks moulded in their ordinary *Rectangular* form, if they ſhall be laid one by another in a level row, between any Supporters ſuſtaining the two ends, then all the pieces between will neceſſarily ſink, even by their own natural *Gravity*; and much more, if they ſuffer any depreſſion by other weight above them, becauſe their ſides being *parallel*, they have room to deſcend *perpendicularly*, without impeachment, according to the former *Theorem*; Therefore to make them ſtand, we muſt either change their *Poſture*, or their *Figure*, or both.

Theorem 3.

If Bricks moulded, or Stones ſquared *Cuneatim*, (that is, *Wedge-wiſe*, broader above then below) ſhall be laid in a *Row-level*, with their ends ſupported, as in the precedent *Theorem*, pointing all to one *Center*; then none of the pieces between can ſink till the *Supporters* give way, becauſe they want room

room in that *Figuration*, to deſcend *perpendicularly*. But this is yet a weak piece of *Structure*, becauſe the *Supporters* are ſubject to much impulſion, eſpecially if the Line be long; for which reaſon this *Form* is ſeldome uſed, but over *Windowes*, or narrow *Doors*. Therefore to fortifie the *Work*, as in this third *Theorem*, we have ſuppoſed the *Figure* of all the *Materials* different from thoſe in the ſecond: So likewiſe we muſt now change the *Poſture*, as will appear in the *Theorem* following.

Theorem 4.

If the *Materials* figured as before *Wedge-wiſe*, ſhall not be diſpoſed levelly, but in form of ſome *Arch*, or portion of a Circle, pointing all to the ſame Center, In this caſe neither the pieces of the ſaid *Arch* can ſink downwards, through want of * *By the firſt Theor.* room to deſcend * perpendicularly; Nor the *Supporters* or *Butments* (as they are termed) of the ſaid *Arch* can ſuffer ſo much violence, as in the precedent flat poſture; for the roundneſs will alwayes make the incumbent weight rather to reſt upon the *Supporters*, then to ſhove them; whence may be drawn an evident Corolary: that the ſafeſt of all *Arches* is the *Semi-circular*, and of all *Vaults* the *Hemiſphere*, though not abſolutely exempted from ſome natural weakneſs, + as *Bernardine Baldi* Abbot of *Guaſtalla*, in his Commentary upon *Ariſtotles Mechanicks*, doth very well prove: where let me note by the way, that when any thing is *Mathematically* demonſtrated weak, it is much more *Mechanically weak*: Errours ever occurring more eaſily

* *Which is the ſole Prerogative of perpendicular Lines, and right Angles.*

easily in the management of *Groſs Materials*, then *Lineal Deſignes*.

Theorem 5.

As Semi-circular *Arches*, or Hemiſpherical *Vaults*, being raiſed upon the total *Diameter*, be of all other the roundeſt, and conſequently the ſecureſt, by the precedent *Theoreme*: So thoſe are the gracefulleſt, which keeping preciſely the ſame height, ſhall yet be diſtended one fourteenth part longer then the ſaid entire *Diameter*; which addition of diſtent will confer much to their *Beauty*, and detract but little from their *Strength*.

This Obſervation I find in *Leon-Batiſta Alberti*; But the practice how to preſerve the ſame height, and yet diſtend the Arms or Ends of the Arch, is in *Albert Durers Geometry*, who taught the *Italians* many an excellent *Line*, of great uſe in this *Art*.

Upon theſe five *Theoremes*, all the skill of *Arching* and *Vaulting* is grounded: As for thoſe *Arches*, which our Artizans call of the third and fourth point, And the *Tuſcan* Writers *di terzo*, and *di quarto accuto*, becauſe they alwayes concurre in an acute Angle, and do ſpring from diviſion of the *Diameter* into three, four, or more parts, at pleaſure; I ſay, ſuch as theſe, both for the natural imbecillity of the ſharp Angle it ſelf, and likewiſe for their very *Uncomelineſs*, ought to be exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their firſt Inventors, the *Gothes* or *Lumbards*, amongſt other *Reliques* of that barbarous Age.

Thus of my firſt *Partition* of the parts of every *Fabrick*, into five Heads, having gone through the

two

wo former, and been incidently carried into this aſt Doctrine touching *Arches* and *Vaults*. The next now in order are the *Apertions*; under which erm I do comprehend *Doors*, *Windows*, *Stair-caſes*, *Chimnies*, or other *Conducts*: In ſhort, all *In-lets*, or *Out-lets*; To which belong two general Cau. tions.

Firſt, That they be as few in number, and as oderate in Dimenſion, as may poſſibly conſiſt with other due reſpects: for in a word, all *Open-gs* are *Weaknings*.

Secondly, That they do not approach too near he *Angles* of the Wals; for it were indeed a moſt ſſential *Soleciſme*, to weaken that part which muſt rengthen all the reſt: A precept well recorded, ut ill practiſed by the *Italians* themſelves, particu-arly at *Venice*, where I have obſerved divers *Per-uli*, or *Meniana* (as *Vitruvius* ſeemeth to call em, which are certain balliſed out-ſtandings to atisfie curioſity of ſight) very dangerouſly ſet orth, upon the very point it ſelf of the *Mural ngle*.

Now, Albeit I make haſte to the caſting and mparting of the whole *Work*, (being indeed the ery Definitive Summe of this Art, to diſtribute efully and gracefully a well choſen Plot) yet I ill firſt under their ſeveral Heads, collect briefly me of the choiceſt notes belonging to theſe parti-lar *Overtures*.

Of *Doors* and *Windows*.

THeſe *In-lets* of *Men* and of *Light*, I couple to-gether, becauſe I find their Dimenſions ought under one Rule by *Leon Alberti* (a learn-

ed Searcher) who from the School of *Pythagoras* (where it was a fundamental *Maxime*, that the *Images* of all things are latent in *Numbers*) doth determine the comelieſt Proportion betwee breadths and heigths; Reducing *Symmetry* to *Symphony*, and the *Harmony* of *Sound*, to a kind of *Harmony* in *Sight*, after this manner: The two principal Conſonances, that moſt raviſh the Ear, are by conſent of all Nature, the *fifth*, and the *octave*, whereof the firſt riſeth radically from the proportion between *two* and *three*; The other from the double *Interval*, between *one* and *two*, or between *two* and *four*, &c. Now if we ſhall tranſport these proportions from Audible to Viſible *Objects*; and apply them as they ſhall fall fitteſt (the nature of the Place conſidered) namely, in ſome *Windows* and Doors, the *Symmetry* of *two* to *three* in the Breadth and Length; In others, the double as foreſaid; There will indubitably reſult from hence a gracefull and *harmonious* contentment to the Eye: Which ſpeculation, though it may appear unto vulgar *Artizans*, perhaps too ſubtil, and ſublime, yet we muſt remember, that *Vitruvius* himſelf doth determine many things in his profeſſion, by *Muſical* Grounds, and much commends in an *Architect* a *Philoſophical* Spirit; that is, would have him (as I conceive it) to be no ſuperficial, and floating *Artificer*; but a *Diver* into *Cauſes*, and into the *Myſteries* of *Proportion*. As the *Ornaments* belonging both to *Doors* and *Windows*, I ſhall ſpeak in other place; But let me adde one Obſervation; That our *Maſter* (as he peareth by divers paſſages, and particularly *cap.* 9.) ſeems to have been an extream Lover of *Luminous Roomes*; And indeed, I muſt confeſs

hat a Frank Light can miſ-become no *Ædifice* whatſoever, *Temples* only excepted; which were anciently dark, as they are likewiſe at this day in ſome Proportion. *Devotion more requiring collected then diffuſed Spirits.* Yet on the other *Lumen eſt* ide, we muſt take heed to make a Houſe *diffuſivum* though but for civil uſe) all *Eyes*, *ſui & aliuſ.* ike *Argus*, which in *Northern Climes* would be too old, In *Southern* too hot: And therefore the mat- er indeed importeth more then a merry compari- on. Beſides, There is no part of *Structure* either nore expencefull then *Windows*, or more ruinous; ot only for that vulgar reaſon, as being expoſed o all violence of weather; but becauſe conſiſting ſo different and unſociable pieces, as *Wood*, *Iron*, *Lead*, and *Glaſs*, and thoſe ſmall and weak, they re eaſily ſhaken; I muſt likewiſe remember one ing, (though it be but a *Grammatical* Note) ouching *Doors*. Some were *Fores* and ſome were *alvæ*. Thoſe (as the very word may ſeem to im- ort) did open *outwards*, Theſe *inwards*, and were ommonly of two *Leaves* or *Panes*, (as we call em) thereby requiring indeed a leſſer *Circuit* in eir *unfoldings*; And therefore much in uſe among *talians* at this day: But I muſt charge them with n Imperfection, for though they let in as well as e former, yet they keep out worſe.

Of *Stair-caſes.*

TO make a Complete *Stair-caſe*, is a curious piece of *Architecture*: The vulgar Cautions re theſe:

That it have a very liberal *Light* againſt all Ca- tality of *Slips*, and *Falls*.

That the ſpace above the Head, be large an *Aiery*, which the *Italians* uſe to call *Un bels-fogo*, as it were good *Ventilation*, becauſe a man do ſpend much breath in mounting.

That the *Half-paces* be well diſtributed at con petent diſtances, for repoſing on the way.

That to avoid *Encounters*, and beſides to grati the beholder, the whole *Stair-caſe* have no nigar *Latitude*, that is, for the principal *Aſcent*, at le ten foot in *Royal Buildings*.

That the breadth of every ſingle *Step* or *Stair* never leſs then one foot, nor more then eighte inches.

That they exceed by no means half a foot in the height or thickneſs, for our *Leggs* do labour mo in *Elevation*, then in *Diſtention*: Theſe I ſay are f miliar remembrances; to which let me adde,

That the ſteps be laid where they joyn *Cu tantino di ſcarpa*; we may tranſlate it ſomewh *ſloaping*, that ſo the foot may in a ſort both aſce and deſcend together, which though obſerved few, is a ſecret and delicate deception of the pa in mounting.

Laſtly, to reduce this Doctrine to ſome *Natu* or at leaſt *Mathematical* ground, (our *Maſter*, we ſee, *lib. 9. cap. 2.*) borroweth thoſe propor ons that make the ſides of a *Rectangular Trian* which the Ancient School did expreſs in lo terms, by the numbers of *Three*, *Four*, and *Fi* That is *Three* for the *Perpendicular*, from the *St head* to the ground; *Four* for the *Ground-line* it ſ or *Receſſion* from the wall; And *Five* for the wh *Inclination* or ſloapneſs in the aſcent; which p portion, ſaith he, will make *Temperatas gradua brationes*. Hitherto of *Stair-caſes* which are dire

The

There are likewise *Spiral*, or *Cockle Stairs*, either *Circular*, or *Oval*, and sometimes running about a *Pillar*, sometimes vacant, wherein *Palladio*, (A man in this point of singular felicity) was wont to divide the *Diameter* of the first sort into three parts, yielding one to the *Pillar*, and two to the *Steps*; Of the second into four, whereof he gave two to the *Stairs*, and two to the *Vacuity*, which had all their light from above. And this in exact *Ovals* is a Master-piece.

Of *Chimnies*.

IN the present business, *Italians* (who make very frugal fires, are perchance not the best Counsellers.) Therefore from them we may better learn, both how to raise fair *Mantels* within the rooms, and how to disguise gracefully the shafts of Chimnies abroad (as they use) in sundry forms, (which I shall handle in the latter part of my Labour) and the rest I will extract from *Philippe de l'Orme*; in this part of his *Work* more diligent, then in any other; or, to do him right, then any man else.

First, he observeth very soberly, that who in the disposition of any Building will consider the nature of the *Region*, and the *Winds* that ordinarily blow from this, or that *Quarter*; might so cast the rooms which shall most need fire, that he should little fear the incommodity of *Smoke*: and therefore he thinks that inconvenience, for the most part, to proceed from some inconsiderate beginning. Or if the errour lay not in the *Disposition*, but in the *Structure* it self; then he makes a *Logical* enquiry, That either the *Wind* is too much let in

above, at the mouth of the *Shaft*, or the *Smoke* fled below: If none of these, Then there is a repulsion of the *Fume*, by some higher *Hill* or *brick*, that shall overtop the Chimney, and work the former effect: If likewise not this, Then concludes, that the Room which is infested, must be necessarily both little and close, so as the smoke cannot issue by a natural *Principle*, wanting a succession and supply of new *Air*.

Now, in these cases he suggesteth divers Artificial Remedies, of which I will allow one a little *Description*, because it savoureth of *Philosophy*, and was touched by *Vitruvius* himself, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. but by this man ingeniously applyed to the present use. He will have us provide two hollow *brass Balls* of reasonable capacity, with little holes open in both, for reception of Water, when the Air shall be first sucked out; One of these we must place with the hole upwards, upon an iron Wire, that shall traverse the *Chimney*, a little above the *Mantel*, at the ordinary height of the sharpest heat of flames, whereof the Water within being rarified and by rarifaction resolved into *Wind*, will breath out, and so force up the smoke, which otherwise might linger in the *Tunnel*, by the way, and oftentimes revert; With the other, (saith he) we may supply the place of the former, when it is exhausted; or for a need blow the *Fire* in the mean while: Which Invention I have interposed for some little entertainment of the Reader; I will conclude with a note from *Palladio*, who observes that the *Ancients* did warm their Rooms with certain secret *Pipes* that came through the Walls transporting heat (as I conceive it) to sundry parts of the House from one common *Furnace*;

am ready to baptize them *Cali ducts*, as well as they are termed *Venti-ducts*, and *Aqua-ducts*, that convey Wind and Water; which whether it were a custome or a delicacy, was surely both for thrift, and for use, far beyond the German *Stoves*; And I should prefer it likewise before our own fashion, if the very sight of a fire did not adde to the Room a kind of *Reputation*, * as old *Homer* doth teach us in a verse, sufficient to prove that himself was not blind, as some would lay to his charge.

* Αἰθομένου δ' πυρὸς γεραρώτερος οἶκος ἰδέσθαι, *Hom. Epig.*

Touching *Conducts* for the *Suillage*, and other necessities of the House, (which how base soever in use, yet for health of the inhabitants, are as considerable, and perhaps more then the rest) I find in our Authors, this Counsel; That *Art* should imitate *Nature*, in those ignoble conveyances; and separate them from Sight, (where there wants a running Water) into the most remote, and lowest, and thickest part of the *Foundation*; with secret vents passing up through the Walls like a *Tunnel*, to the wilde Air aloft: which all *Italian* Artizans commend for the discharge of noysome vapours, though else-where, to my knowledge, little practised.

Thus having considered the precedent *Apertions*, or *Overtures* in severalty, according to their particular Requisites, I am now come to the casting and *Contexture* of the whole *Work*, comprehended under the term of *Compartition*: Into which (being the mainest piece) I cannot enter without a few general Precautions, as I have done in other Parts.

First therefore, Let no man that intendeth to

build, settle his Fancy upon a draught of the *Work* in *paper*, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in *perspective*; And much less upon a bare *Plant* thereof, as they call the *Sciographia* or *Ground-lines*; without a *Model* or *Type* of the whole *Structure*, and of every parcel and Partition in *Past-board* or *Wood*.

Next, that the said Model be as plain as may be, without colours, or other beautifying, lest the pleasure of the *Eye* preoccupate the *Judgement*; which advice, omitted by the *Italian Architects*, I find in *Philippe de l'Orme*; and therefore (though *France* be not the *Theater* of best buildings) it did merit some mention of his name.

Lastly, the bigger that this *Type* be, it is still the better, not that I will perswade a man to such an enormity, as that *Model* made by *Antonio Labacco* of St. *Peters* Church in *Rome*, containing 22 foot in length, 16 in breadth, and 13 in heighth, and costing 4184 Crowns: The price, in truth, of a reasonable Chappel: Yet in a Fabrick of some 40 or 50 thousand pounds charge, I wish 30 pounds at least laid out before hand in an exact *Model*; for a little misery in the *Premises*, may easily breed some absurdity of greater charge, in the *Conclusion*.

Now, after these premonishments I will come to the *Compartition* it self, By which, the Authors of this *Art* (as hath been touched before) do understand, a *gracefull*, and *usefull* distribution, of the whole *Ground-plot*, both for rooms of *Office*, and of *Reception* or *Entertainment*, as far as the Capacity thereof, and the nature of the Countrey will comport. Which circumstances in the present subject, are all of main consideration, and might yield more discourse

discourse then an *Elemental Rapsodie* will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the *Gracefulness* (whereof we speak) will consist in double *Analogy*, or correspondency. First between the *Parts* and the *whole*, whereby a *great Fabrick* should have *great Partitions*, *great Lights*, *great Entrances*, *great Pillars* or *Pylasters*: In summe, all the *Members great*. The next between the *Parts* themselves, not only, considering their *breadths*, and *lengths*, as before when we spake of *Doors* and *Windows*; but here likewise enters a third respect of *Height*, a point (I must confess) hardly reduceable to any general precept.

True it is, that the *Ancients* did determine the *Longitude* of all *Rooms*, which were longer then broad, by the double of their *Latitude*, *Vitruvius lib. 6. cap. 5.* And the *Heighth* by the half of the breadth and length summed together. But when the Room was precisely square, they made the *Height* half as much more as the *Latitude*; which Dimensions the Modern *Architects* have taken leave to vary, upon discretion: Sometimes squaring the *Latitude*, and then making the *Diagonial* or overthwart Line, from *Angle* to *Angle*, of the said *Square*; the measure of the *Heighth* sometimes more, but seldome lower then the full breadth it self; which boldness of quitting the old *Proportions*, some attribute first to *Michael Angele da Buonaroti*, perchance upon the credit he had before gotten in two other Arts.

The second Point is *Usefulness*, which will consist in a sufficient *Number* of Rooms, of all sorts, and in their apt *Coherence*, without *distraction*, without *confusion*; so as the beholder may not only call it *Una Fabrica ben raccolta*, as *Italians* use to speak of well

well united Works; but likewiſe, that it may appear *airy* and *ſpiritous*, and fit for the welcome of chearfull Gueſts; about which the principal Difficulty will be in contriving the *Lights*, and *Stair-caſes*, whereof I will touch a note or two: For the firſt, I obſerve that the ancient *Architects* were at much eaſe. For both the *Greeks* and *Romans* (of whoſe private dwellings *Vitruvius* hath left us ſome deſcription) had commonly two *cloiſtered* open *Courts*, one ſerving for the *Womens* ſide, and the other for the *Men*; who yet perchance now adays would take ſo much ſeparation unkindly. Howſoever by this means, the reception of *Light* into the Body of the building, was very prompt, both from without and from within: which we muſt now ſupply either by ſome open *Form* of the *Fabrick*, or among gracefull refuges, by *Tarraſing* any *Story* which is in danger of darkneſs; or laſtly, by *perpendicular Lights* from the *Roof*, of all other the moſt natural, as ſhall be ſhewed anon. For the ſecond Difficulty, which is caſting of the *Stair-caſes*; That being in it ſelf no hard point, but only as they are incumbrances of room for other uſe, (which lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved here to ſpeak of them. And firſt of Offices.

I have marked a willingneſs in the *Italian* Artizans, to diſtribute the *Kitchin*, *Pantry*, *Bakehouſe*, *waſhing Rooms*: and even the *Buttery* likewiſe, under ground, next above the *Foundation*, and ſometimes level with the plain, or *Floor* of the *Cellar*: raiſing the firſt Aſcent into the houſe Fifteen Foot, or more, for that End; which beſides the benefit of removing ſuch annoies out of ſight, and the gaining of ſo much more room above, doth alſo by

by elevation of the *Front* adde *Majesty* to the whole *Aspect*. And with such a disposition of the principal *Stair-case*, which commonly doth deliver us into the *Plain* of the second *Story*, there may be wonders done with a little room, whereof I could alledge brave *Examples* abroad; and none more Artificial and Delicious, then a House built by *Daniele Barbaro Patriarch* of *Aquileia*, before mentioned among the memorable *Commenters* upon *Vitruvius*. But the *Definition* (above determined) doth call us to some consideration of our own Countrey; where though all the other petty *Offices* (before rehearsed) may well enough be so remote, yet by the natural *Hospitality* of *England*, the *Buttery* must be more visible, and we need perchance for our *Raunges*, a more spacious and luminous *Kitchin* then the foresaid Compartition will bear; with a more competent nearness likewise to the *Dining-Room*, or else besides other Inconveniences, perhaps some of the Dishes may straggle by the way. Here let me note a common defect, that we have of a very usefull *Room*, called by the *Italians*, *Il Tinello*; and familiar, nay almost essential, in all their great *Families*. It is a place properly appointed to conserve the meat that is taken from the Table, till the *Waiters* eat, which with us by an old fashion, is more unseemly set by in the mean while.

Now touching the distribution of *Lodging*-Chambers; I must here take leave to reprove a fashion, which I know not how, hath prevailed through *Italy*, though without ancient examples, as far as I can perceive by *Vitruvius*. The thing I mean, is, that they so cast their *partitions*, as when all *Doors* are open, a man may see through the whole

vvhole *Houſe*, vvhich doth neceſſarily put an intolerable ſervitude upon all the *Chambers* ſave the *Inmoſt*, vvhere none can arrive but through the reſt; or elſe the *Walls* muſt be extream thick for ſecret paſſages. And yet this alſo vvill not ſerve the turn, vvithout at leaſt *Three* doors to every *Room*: A thing moſt inſufferable in cold and vvindy Regions, and every vvhere no ſmall vveakening to the vvhole *Work*: Therefore vvith us that vvant no cooling, I cannot commend the direct oppoſition of ſuch *Overtures*, being indeed meerly grounded upon the fond ambition of diſplaying to a *Stranger* all our *Furniture* at one *Sight*, vvhich therefore is moſt maintained by them that mean to harbour but a few; vvhereby they make only advantage of the *vanity*, and ſeldome prove the *Inconvenience*. There is likevviſe another defect (as abſurdities are ſeldome ſolitary) vvhich vvill neceſſarily follow upon ſuch a ſervile diſpoſing of inward Chambers; That they muſt be forced to make as many common great *Rooms*, as there ſhall be ſeveral *Stories*; vvhich (beſides that they are uſually dark, a point hardly avoided, running as they do, through the middle of the vvhole *Houſe*) do likewiſe devour ſo much Place, that thereby they vvant other *Galleries*, and Rooms of *Retreat*, vvhich I have often conſidered among them (I muſt confeſs) vvith no ſmall vvonder; for I obſerve no *Nation* in the World, by nature more *private* and *reſerved*, then the *Italian*; and on the other ſide, in no *Habitations* leſs *privacy*; ſo there is a kind of Conflict between their *Dwelling* and their *Being*: It might here perchance be expected, that I ſhould at leaſt deſcribe (which others have done in *draughts* and *deſigns*) divers *Forms* of *Plants* and

Parti-

Partitions, and varieties of *Inventions*; But ſpeculative *Writers* (as I am) are not bound to compriſe all particular Caſes vvithin the Latitude of the *Subject* vvhich they handle; General Lights, and *Directions*, and pointings at ſome faults, is ſufficient. The reſt muſt be committed to the ſagacity of the *Architect*, vvho vvill be often put to divers ingenious ſhifts, vvhen he is to vvreſtle vvith ſcarcity of *Ground*. As ſometimes * to damm one Room (though of ſpecial uſe) for the benefit and beauty of all the reſt; Another vvhile, to make thoſe faireſt, vvhich are moſt in *Sight*, and to leave the other (like a cunning Painter) in ſhadow, *cum multis aliis*, vvhich it vvere infinite to purſue. I vvill therefore cloſe this part touching *Compartition*, as chearfully as I can, vvith a ſhort deſcription of a *Feaſting* or *entertaining Room*, after the *Ægyptian* manner, vvho ſeem (at leaſt till the time of *Vitruvius*) from the ancient *Hebrews* and *Phœnicians* (vvhence all knowledge did flow) to have retained vvith other *Sciences*, in a high degree, alſo the *Principles*, and *practice* of this magnificent *Art*. For as far as I may conjecture by our Maſters Text, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 5. (vvhere as in many other places he hath tortured his *Interpreters*) there could no *Form* for ſuch a Royal uſe be comparably imagined like that of the foreſaid *Nation*, vvhich I ſhall adventure to explain.

The *Italians* call it *una ſtanza dannata*, as when a Buttery is caſt under a Staircaſe, or the like.

Let us conceive a *Floor* or *Area* of goodly length, (for example, at leaſt of 120 Foot, with the *breadth* ſomewhat more then the half of the *Longitude*, vvhereof the reaſon ſhall be afterwards rendred. About the two longeſt Sides and Head of the

the ſaid *Room* ſhall run an Order of *Pillars*, which *Palladio* doth ſuppoſe *Corinthian*, (as I ſee by his deſign) ſupplying that point out of *Greece*, becauſe vve know no *Order* proper to *Ægypt*. The Fourth Side I will leave free for the *Entrance*: On the foreſaid *Pillars* was laid an *Architrave*, vvhich *Vitruvius* mentioneth alone: *Palladio* addes thereunto (and vvith reaſon) both *Freez* and *Cornice*, over vvhich vvent up a continued *Wall*, and therein half or three quarter *Pillars* anſwering directly to the Order below, but a fourth Part leſs; and between theſe half Columnes above, the vvhole Room vvas vvindowed round about.

Now, from the loweſt *Pillars* there vvas laid over a Contignation or Floor born upon the outward *Wall*, and the *Head* of the Columns vvith *Tarrace* and *Pavement*, *Sub dio* (ſaith our Maſter;) and ſo indeed he might ſafely determine the matter in *Ægypt*, vvhere they fear no Clouds: Therefore *Palladio*, (vvho leaveth this *Tarrace* uncovered in the middle, and *balliſed* about) did perchance conſtrue him rightly, though therein diſcording from others: Alwayes vve muſt underſtand a ſufficient breadth of Pavement left between the open part and the *Windows*, for ſome delight of Spectatours, that might look down into the *Room*: The *Latitude* I have ſuppoſed, contrary to ſome former Poſitions, a little more then the half of the length; becauſe the Pillars ſtanding at a competent diſtance from the outmoſt *Wall*, vvill, by interception of the *Sight*, ſomewhat in appearance diminiſh the breadth; In vvhich caſes, (as I have touched once or twice before) *Diſcretion* may be more licentious then *Art*. This is the deſcription of an *Ægyptian* Room for *Feaſts* and other *Jollities*.

About

About the *Walls* vvhereof vve muſt imagine entire *Statues* placed below, and illuminated by the deſcending Light from the *Terrace*, as likewiſe from the *VVindows* between the half Pillars above; So as this *Room* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and beſides other garniſhing, muſt needs receive much *State* by the very height of the *Roof*, that lay over two Orders of *Columns*. And ſo having run through the four parts of my firſt general *Diviſion*, namely, *Foundations*, *VValls*, *Apertions*, and *Compartition*, the *Houſe* may now have leave to put on his *Hat*; having hitherto been uncovered it ſelf, and conſequently unfit to cover others. Which point, though it be the laſt of this Art in execution, yet it is alwayes in *Intention* the firſt: For vvho vvould build but for *Shelter*? Therefore obtaining both the *Place*, and the dignity of a *Final Cauſe*, it hath been diligently handled by divers, but by none more learnedly then *Bernardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guaſtalla* (before cited upon other occaſion) vvho doth fundamentally, and *Mathematically* demonſtrate the firmeſt *Knittings* of the upper *Timbers*, vvhich make the *Roof*. But it hath been rather my *Scope*, in theſe *Elements*, to fetch the ground of all from *Nature* her ſelf, vvhich indeed is the ſimpleſt mother of Art. Therefore I will now only deliver a few of the propereſt, and (as I may ſay) of the naturalleſt conſiderations that belong to this remaining *Piece*.

There are two Extremities to be avoided in the *Cover*, or *Roof*: That it be not too *heavy*, nor too *light*. The firſt, vvill ſuffer a vulgar objection of preſſing too much the under-work. The other containeth a more ſecret inconvenience; for the *Cover* is not only a bare defence, but likewiſe a kind

kind of *Band* or *Ligature* to the vvhole *Fabrick*, and therefore vvould require ſome reaſonable vveight. But of the two extreams, a Houſe *Top-heavy* is the vvorſt. Next, there muſt be a care of *Equality*, that the *Edifice* be not preſſed on the one ſide more then on the other; and here *Palladio* doth vviſh (like a cautelous Artizan) that the inward Walls might bear ſome good ſhare in the burthen, and the outward be the leſs charged.

Thirdly, the *Italians* are very preciſe in giving the *Cover* a gracefull *pendence* of *ſloapneſs*, dividing the vvhole breadth into nine Parts; vvhereof two ſhall ſerve for the elevation of the higheſt *Top* or *Ridge* from the loweſt. But in this Point the quality of the *Region* is conſiderable: For (as our *Vitruvius* inſinuateth) thoſe *Climes* that fear the falling and lying of much *Snow*, ought to provide more inclining *Pentices*: and *Comelineſs* muſt yield to *Neceſſity*.

Theſe are the uſefulleſt Cautions vvhich I find in *Authors*, touching the laſt *Head* of our Diviſion, vvherewith I vvill conclude the firſt Part of my preſent *Travel*. The ſecond remaineth, concerning *Ornaments* vvithin, or vvithout the *Fabrick*; A Piece not ſo dry as the meer Contemplation of Proportions. And therefore I hope therein ſomewhat to refreſh both the *Reader*, and my ſelf.

OF

OF THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE.

The Second Part.

EVery Mans proper *Manſion* Houſe and *Home*, being the *Theater* of his *Hoſpitality*, the *Seat* of *Self-fruition*, the *Comfortableſt part* of his own *Life*, the nobleſt of his Sons *Inheritance*, a kind of private *Princedome*; Nay, to the *Poſſeſſors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*; may well deſerve by theſe *Attributes*, according to the degree of the *Maſter*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned. For which end, there are two *Arts* attending on *Architecture*, like two of her principal *Gentlewomen*, to *dreſs* and *trim* their *Miſtreſs*; PICTURE and SCULPTURE: Between whom, before I proceed any further, I

will venture to determine an ancient quarrel about their *Precedency*, with this *Distinction*; that in the garnishing of *Fabricks*, *Sculpture* no doubt must have the *prehéminence*, as being indeed of nearer affinity to *Architecture* it self, and consequently the more natural, and more suitable *Ornament*. But on the other side, (to consider these two Arts as I shall do *Philosophically*, and not *Mechanically*) An excellent Piece of *Painting*, is, to my judgement, the more admirable *Object*, because it comes near an *Artificial Miracle*, to make divers distinct *Eminences* appear upon a *Flat* by force of *Shadows*, & yet the *Shadows* themselves not to appear: which I conceive to be the uttermost value and vertue of a *Painter*; and to which very few have arrived in all *Ages*.

In these two *Arts* (as they are appliable to the *Subject* which I handle) it shall be fit first to consider how to *choose* them; and next how to *dispose* them. To guide us in the *choyce*, we have a *Rule* somewhere (I well remember) in *Pliny*, and it is a pretty observation; That they do mutually help to censure one another. For *Picture* is best when it standeth off, as if it were carvèd; and *Sculpture* is best when it appeareth so *tender*, as if it were *painted*: I mean when there is such a seeming softnes in the *Limbs*, as if not a *Chisel* had hewed them out of *Stone* or other *Material*, but a *Pensil* had drawn and stroaked them in *Oyl*; which the judicious *Poet* took well to his Fancy.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.

But this generality is not sufficient to make a good *chooser*, without a more particular contradiction of his Judgement. Therefore when a Piece of *Art* is set before us, let the first Caution be, not to ask who made it, lest the *Fame* of the *Author* do

Capti

Captivate the *Fancy* of the *Buyer*. For, that excellent men do alwayes *excellently*, is a falſe Concluſion; whereupon I obſerve among *Italian* Artizans, three notable *Phraſes*, which well decipher the degrees of their *Works*.

They will tell you, that a thing was done *Con diligenza*, *Con ſtudio*, and *Con Amore*; The firſt is but a bare and *ordinary diligence*, The ſecond is a *learned diligence*; The third is much more, even a *loving diligence*: They mean not with love to the *Beſpeaker* of the *Work*, but with a love and delight in the *Work* it ſelf, upon ſome ſpecial *Fancy* to this, or that *Story*; And when all theſe concurre (particularly the laſt) in an eminent *Authour*, Then perchance *Tatianus fecit*, or ὁ Φιδιας ἐποιει will ſerve the turn, without farther *Inquiſition*; Otherwiſe Artizans have not only their *Growths* and *Perfections*, but likewiſe their *Vains* and *Times*.

The next Caution muſt be (to proceed *Logically*) that in judging of the *Work* it ſelf, we be not diſtracted with too many things at once; Therefore (firſt to begin with *Picture*:) we are to obſerve whether it be well drawn, (or as more elegant *Artizans* term it) well *Deſign'd*; Then, whether it be well *Coloured*, which be the two general *Heads*; And each of them hath two principal *Requiſites*; For in well *Deſigning*, there muſt be *Truth* and *Grace*; In well *Colouring*, *Force* and *Affection*; All other *Praiſes* are but Conſequences of theſe.

Truth (as we Metaphorically take it in this Art) is a *Juſt* and *Natural Proportion* in every Part of the determined Figure: *Grace* is a certain *free Diſpoſition* in the whole *Draught*, anſwerable to that unaffected Frankneſs of *Faſhion* in a living *Body*, Man

or Woman, which doth animate Beauty where it is, and ſupply it, where it is not.

Force conſiſteth in the *Roundings* and *Raiſings* of the *VVork*, according as the *Limbs* do more or leſs require it; So as the *Beholder* ſhall ſpie no *ſharpneſs* in the bordering *Lines*; As when Taylors cut out a Sute, which *Italians* do aptly term according to that compariſon, *Contorni taglienti*; Not any *flatneſs* within the *Body* of the *Figure*, which how it is done, we muſt fetch from a higher *Diſcipline*; For the *Opticks* teach us, That a *plain* will appear *prominent*, and (as it were) *emboſſed*, if the Parts fartheſt from the *Axel-tree*, or middle *Beam* of the *Eye*, ſhall be the moſt ſhadowed; becauſe in all *Darkneſs*, there is a kind of *Deepneſs*. But as in the Art of *perſwaſion*, one of the moſt Fundamental *Precepts* is the *Concealement* of Art; So here likewiſe, the *Sight* muſt be ſweetly deceived by an inſenſible paſſage, from *brighter* colours to *dimmer*, which *Italian Artizans* call the *middle Tinctures*; That is, Not as the *whites* and *yolkes* of *Eggs* lye in the *Shell*, with viſible diſtinction; But as when they are *beaten*, and *blended* in a *Diſh*, which is the neareſt compariſon that I can ſuddenly conceive.

Laſtly, *Affection* is the *Lively Repreſentment* of any *paſſion* whatſoever, as if the *Figures* ſtood not upon a *Cloth* or *Board*, but as if they were *acting* upon a *Stage*; And here I muſt remember, in truth with much marvel, a note which I have received from excellent *Artizans*, that though Gladneſs and Grief be *oppoſites* in Nature; yet they are ſuch *Neighbours* and *Confiners* in Art, that the leaſt touch of a *Penſil* will tranſlate a *crying* into a *laughing* Face as it is repreſented by *Homer* in the perſon

of *Hectors* wife ; as Painters and Poets have alwayes had a kind of congeniality,

ΙΛΙΑΔ. ζ.

Ὡς οἱ πὼν ἀλόχοιε Φίλης ἐν χέρσιν ἔθηκε,
Παῖδ' ἑὸν, ἠδ' ἄρα μὶν κηώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ.
Δακρύειν γελάσασα. ——— That is,

She took her Son into her Arms, weepingly laughing.

Which Instance, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my memory that ingenuous Speculation of the Cardinal *Cusanus*, extant in his Works, touching the *coincidence* of *Extremes*. And thus much of the four *Requisites*, and *Perfections* in *Picture*.

In *Sculpture* likewise, the two first are absolutely necessary ; The third impertinent ; For *Solid* Figures need no elevation, by force of *Lights*, or *shadows* ; Therefore in the Room of this we may put (as hath been before touched) a kind of *Tenderness*, by the *Italians* termed *Morbidezza*, wherein the *Chizel*, I must confess, hath more glory then the *Pensil* ; that being so hard an *Instrument*, and working upon so unpliant stuff, can yet leave *Strokes* of so gentle *appearance*.

The Fourth, which is the expressing of *Affection* (as far as it doth depend upon the *Activity* and *Gesture* of the *Figure*) is as proper to the *Carver*, as to the *Painter* ; though *Colours*, no doubt, have therein the greatest power ; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with us the *Fashion* of *colouring*, even *Regal Statues*, which I must take leave to call an *English Barbarisme*.

Now in these four *Requisites* already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no *Artizan*, having ever been blamed for excess in any of the three last; only *Truth* (which should seem the most *Innocent*) hath suffered some Objection; and all *Ages* have yielded, some one or two *Artificers* so prodigiously exquisite, that they have been reputed too *Natural* in their *Draughts*; which will well appear by a famous passage in *Quintillian*, touching the *Characters* of the ancient *Artizans*, falling now so aptly into my memory, that I must needs translate it, as in truth it may well deserve.

The place which I intend, is extant in the last *Chapter* save one of his whole *Work*, beginning thus in *Latine*;

Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratiâ visenda sunt clari Pictores, fuisse dicuntur Polygnotus *atque* Aglaophon, *&c.*

The whole *Passage* in *English* standeth thus.

THE first *Painters* of Name, whose *Works* be considerable for any thing more then only *Antiquity*, are said to have been *Polygnotus* and *Aglaophon*; whose bare *Colouring*, he means I think in *white* and *black*, hath even yet so many followers, that those rude and first *Elements*, as it were of that, which within a while, became an Art, are preferred before the greatest *Painters* that have been extant after them, out of a certain *Competition*, as I conceive it, in point of *Judgement*. After these, *Zeuxes* and *Parasius*, not far distant in age, both about the time of the *Peloponnesian War*, for in *Xenophon* we have a Dialogue between *Parasius* and *Socrates*, did adde much to this *Art*. Of which the first

first is said to have invented the due disposition of *Lights* and *Shadows*; The second, to have more subtilly examined the *Truth* of *Lines* in the *Draught*; for *Zeuxes* did make *Limbs* bigger then the *life*; deeming his *Figures*, thereby the more stately and Majestical; and therein, as some think, imitating *Homer*, whom the stoutest Form doth please, even in *Women*. On the other side, *Parasius* did exactly limit all the Proportions so, as they call him the *Lawgiver*, because in the *Images* of the *Gods*, and of *Heroical Personages*, others have followed his Patterns like a *Decree*; But *Picture* did most flourish about the dayes of *Philip*, and even to the Successors of *Alexander*; yet by sundry *Habilities*: for *Protogenes* did excel in *Diligence*; *Pamphilus* and *Melanthius* in due *Proportion*; *Antiphilus* in a *frank Facility*; *Theon* of *Samos*, in *strength* of *Fantasie* and conceiving of *Passions*; *Apelles*, in *Invention* and *Grace*, whereof he doth himself most vaunt; *Euphranor* deserves admiration, that being in other excellent *Studies* a principal Man, he was likewise a wondrous Artizan, both in *Painting* and *Sculpture*. The like difference we may observe among the *Statuaries*; for the works of *Calon* and *Egesias* were somewhat *stiff*, like the *Tuscan* Manner; Those of *Calamis* not done with so cold strokes; And *Myron* more *tender* then the former; a diligent *Decency* in *Polycletus* above others; to whom though the highest praise be attributed by the most, yet lest he should go free from exception, some think he wanted *solemness*; for as he may perchance be said to have added a *comely Dimension* to humane shape, somewhat above the *truth*; so on the other side, he seemed not to have fully expressed the *Majesty* of the *Gods*: Moreover, he is said not to have

medled willingly with the *graver age*, as not adventuring beyond *ſmooth cheeks*: But theſe vertues that were wanting in *Polycletus*, were ſupplyed by *Phidias* and *Alcmenes*; yet *Phidias* was a better Artizan in the repreſenting of *Gods*, then of *Men*; and in his works of *Ivory*, beyond all emulation, even though he had left nothing behind him but his *Minerva* at *Athens*, or the *Olympian Jupiter* in *Elis*, whoſe *Beauty* ſeems to have added ſomewhat, even to the received *Religion*; the *Majeſty* of the *Work*, as it were, equalling the *Deity*. To *Truth*, they affirm *Lyſippus* and *Praxiteles*, to have made the neareſt approach: for *Demetrius* is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding then deficient; having been a greater aimer at *Likeneſs*, then at *Lovelineſs*.

This is that witty Cenſure of the ancient Artizans which *Quintillian* hath left us, where the laſt *Character* of *Demetrius* doth require a little *Philoſophical* Examination; How an *Artificer*, whoſe end is the *Imitation* of *Nature*, can be too *natural*; which likewiſe in our dayes was either the fault, or (to ſpeak more gently) the too much perfection of *Albert Durer*, and perhaps alſo of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, between whom I have heard noted by an ingenuous Artizan a pretty nice difference, that the *German* did too much expreſs *that which was*; and the *Italian*, *that which ſhould be*. Which ſevere Obſervation of *Nature*, by the one in her *commoneſt*, and by the other in her *abſoluteſt* Forms, muſt needs produce in both a kind of *Rigidity*, and conſequently more *Naturalneſs* then *Gracefulneſs*: This is the cleareſt reaſon, why ſome exact *Symmetriſts* have been blamed for being too true, as near as I can deliver my conceit. And ſo much

much touching the choice of *Picture*, and *Sculpture*: The next is, the *application* of both to the *beautifying* of *Fabricks*.

First therefore, touching *Picture*, there doth occurre a very pertinent doubt, which hath been passed over too slightly, not only by some *Men*, but by some *Nations*; namely, whether this *Ornament* can well become the *Outside* of *houses*, wherein the *Germans* have made so little scruple, that their best *Towns* are the most painted, as *Augusta* and *Norembergh*. To determine this question in a word: It is true, that a *Story* well set out with a good *Hand*, will every where take a *Judicious* eye: But yet withal it is as true, that various colours on the *Out-walls* of Buildings have alwayes in them more Delight then Dignity: Therefore I would there admit no *Paintings* but in *Black* and *White*, nor even in that kind any *Figures* (if the Room be capable) under Nine or Ten foot high, which will require no ordinary *Artizan*; because the faults are more visible then in small *Designs*. In unfigured *paintings* the noblest is the imitation of *Marbles*, and of *Architecture* it self, as *Arches*, *Treezes*, *Columns*, and the like.

Now for the *Inside*, here grows another doubt, wherein *Groteſca* (as the *Italians*) or *Antique* work (as we call it) should be received; against the expres authority of *Vitruvius* himself, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* where *Pictura* (saith he) *fit ejus, quod est, seu potest esse*; excluding by this severe definition, all *Figures* composed of different *Natures* or *Sexes*; so as a *Syrene* or a *Centaure* had been intolerable in his eye: But in this we must take leave to depart from our Master; and the rather, because he spake out of his own Profession, allowing *Painters* (who have

have ever been as little limited as *Poets*) a leſs ſcope in their imaginations, even then the graveſt *Philoſophers*, who ſometimes do ſerve themſelves of *Inſtances* that have no *Exiſtence* in *Nature*; as we ſee in *Plato*'s *Amphisbœna*, and *Ariſtotle*'s *Hirco-Cervus*. And (to ſettle this point) what was indeed more common and familiar among the *Romans* themſelves, then the *Picture* and *Statue* of *Terminus*, even one of their Deities? which yet if we well conſider, is but a piece of *Groteſca*; I am for theſe reaſons unwilling to impoveriſh that Art, though I could wiſh ſuch *medly* and *motly* Deſigns confined only to the *Ornament* of *Freezes*, and Borders, their propereſt place. As for other Storied *Works* upon *Walls*, I doubt our *Clime* be too yielding and moiſt for ſuch *Garniſument*; therefore leaving it to the Dwellers diſcretion according to the quality of his Seat, I will only adde a Caution or two about the diſpoſing of *Pictures* within.

Firſt, That no Room be furniſhed with too many; which, in truth, were a Surfet of *Ornament*, unleſs they be Galleries, or ſome peculiar *Repoſitory* for Rarities of Art.

Next, that the beſt Pieces be placed not where there are the *leaſt*, but where there are the *fewest lights*: therefore not only Rooms windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted; but with two or moe windows on the ſame ſide, are enemies to this *Art*: and ſure it is, that no Painting can be ſeen in full perfection, but (as all Nature is illuminated) by a *ſingle* Light.

Thirdly, That in the *placing* there be ſome care alſo taken how the *Painter* did ſtand in the *working*, which an intelligent *Eye* will eaſily diſcover; and that *poſture* is the moſt natural: ſo as *Italian* Pieces will

will appear best in a Room where the Windows are high, because they are commonly made to a descending Light, which of all other doth set off mens Faces in their truest spirit.

Lastly, that they be as properly bestowed for their *quality*, as *fitly* for their *grace*: that is, *chearfull* Paintings in *Feasting* and *Banqueting* Rooms; *Graver Stories* in *Galleries*; *Land-skips* and *Boscage*, and such *wilde* works, in open *Tarraces*, or in *Summer-houses* (as wee call them) and the like.

And thus much of *Picture*; which let me close with this Note; that though my former Discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable *leading* in the choice of such delights; yet let no man hope by such a *speculative* erudition, to discern the *Masterly* and *mysterious* touches of *Art*, but an Artizan himself; to whom therefore we must leave the *prerogative* to censure the manner and handling, as he himself must likewise leave some points, perchance of no less value to others; as for example, whether the *Story* be rightly *represented*, the *Figures* in true *action*, the *persons suted* to their several qualities, the *affections proper* and *strong*, and such like Observations.

Now for *Sculpture*, I must likewise begin with a Controversie, as before (falling into this Place;) or let me rather call it a very meer *Fancy*, strangely taken by *Palladio*, who having noted in an old Arch or two at *Verona*, some part of the *Materials* already cut in fine *Forms*, and some *unpolished*, doth conclude (according to his *Logick*) upon this particular, that the Ancients did leave the outward *Face* of their *Marbles* or *Free-stone* without any *Sculpture*, till they were laid and cemented in the

Body

Body of the Building; For which likewise he findeth a reason, as many do now and then very wittily, even before the thing it self be true, that the Materials being left *rough*, were more manageable in the *Masons* hand, then if they had been *smooth*; And that so the *sides* might be laid together the more exactly; Which Conceit, once taken, he seems to have further imprinted, by marking in certain Storied *Sculptures* of old time, how precisely the Parts and Lines of the *Figures* that pass from one Stone to another, do meet; which he thinks could hardly fall out so right, forgetting while he speaks of *ancient* things, the ancient *Diligence*, unless they had been cut after the joyning of the *Materials*. But all these *Inducements* cannot countervail the sole *Inconvenience* of *shaking* and *Disjoynting* the *Commissures* with so many Strokes of the *Chizel*, besides an *Incommodious* Working on *Scaffolds*; especially having no testimony to confirm it, that I have yet seen, among the records of *Art*: Nay, it is indeed rather true, that they did *square*, and *carve*, and *polish* their *Stone* and *Marble* Works, even in the very *Cave* of the *Quarry* before it was hardened by open Air: But, to leave disputation, I will set down a few *Positive* notes for the placing of *Sculpture*; because the choosing hath been handled before.

That first of all, it be not too *general* and *abundant*, which would make a *House* look like a *Cabinet*: and in this point, *moral Philosophy*, which tempereth *Fancies*, is the *Superintendent* of *Art*.

That especially, there be a due moderation of this *Ornament* in the first approach; where our Authors do more commend, I mean about the Prin-

cipal

cipal *Entrance*, a *Dorique*, then a *Corinthian* garniſhment; So as if the great *Door* be *Arched* with ſome brave *Head*, cut in fine *Stone* or *Marble* for the *Key* of the *Arch*, and two *Incumbent* Figures gracefully leaning upon it towards one another, as if they meant to confer, I ſhould think this a ſufficient Entertainment for the firſt Reception of any *judicious* Sight, which I could wiſh ſeconded with two great ſtanding *Statues* on each ſide of a paved way that ſhall lead up into the *Fabrick*, ſo as the Beholder at the firſt entrance may paſs his eye between them.

That the *Nices*, if they contain *Figures* of *white* Stone or *Marble*, be not coloured in their *Concavity* too *black*, For though *Contraria juxta ſe poſita magis illuceſcunt* (by an old Rule,) yet it hath been ſubtilly, and indeed truly noted, that our *Sight* is not well contented with thoſe ſudden departments from one extream to another: Therefore let them have rather a *Duskiſh* Tincture, then an abſolute *black*.

That *fine* and delicate *Sculptures* be helped with *Nearneſs*, and *Groſs* with *diſtance*; which was well ſeen in the old controverſie between *Phidias* and *Alcmenes* about the *Statue* of *Venus*: wherein the firſt did ſhew diſcretion, and ſave labour, becauſe the *Work* was to be viewed at good *Height*, which did drown the ſweet and diligent ſtrokes of his *Adverſary*: A famous emulation of two principal *Artizans*, celebrated even by the *Greek* Poets.

That in the placing of ſtanding *Figures* aloft, we muſt ſet them in a *Poſture* ſomewhat bowing forward; becauſe (ſaith our Maſter, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. out of a better *Art* then his own) the *viſual beam* of

of our Eye, extended to the *Head* of the ſaid *Figures*, being longer then to the *Foot*, muſt neceſſarily make that *part* appear *farther*; ſo as to reduce it to an erect or upright *poſition*, there muſt be allowed a due advantage of *ſtooping* towards us; which *Albert Durer* hath exactly taught in his forementioned *Geometry*. Our *Vitruvius* calleth this affection in the *Eye*, a *reſupination* of the *Figure*: For which word (being in truth his own, for ought I know) we are almoſt as much beholding to him, as for the Obſervation it ſelf: And let thus much ſummarily ſuffice touching the choice and uſe of theſe adorning Arts. For to ſpeak of garniſhing the *Fabrick* with a *Row* of erected *Statues* about the *Cornice* of every *Contignation* or *Story*, were diſcourſe more proper for *Athens* or *Rome*, in the time of their true greatneſs, when (as *Pliny* recordeth of his own Age) there were near as many carved *Images*, as living *Men*; like a noble contention, even in point of *Fertility*, between *Art* and *Nature*; which paſſage doth not only argue an infinite abundance, both of *Artizans* and *Materials*; but likewiſe of *Magnificent* and *Majeſtical* Deſires in every common perſon of thoſe times, more or leſs, according to their *Fortunes*. And true it is indeed, that the *Marble Monuments* and *Memories* of well-deſerving Men, wherewith the very High-wayes were *ſtrewed* on each ſide, was not a bare and tranſitory Entertainment of the *Eye*, or only a gentle deception of *Time* to the *Traveller*: But had alſo a ſecret and ſtrong *Influence*, even into the advancement of the *Monarchy*, by continual repreſentation of vertuous Examples; ſo as in that point, *ART* became a piece of *State*.

Now, as I have before ſubordinated *Pilture* and *Sculpture*

Sculpture to *Architecture*, as their Miſtreſs; ſo there are certain inferiour A R T S likewiſe ſubordinate to them; As under Picture, *Moſaique*; under Sculpture, *Plaſtique*: which two I only nominate, as the fitteſt to garniſh *Fabricks*.

Moſaique; is a kind of Painting in ſmall *Pebb'es*, *Cockles* and *Shels* of ſundry colours; and of late dayes likewiſe with pieces of *Glaſs* figured at pleaſure; an *Ornament*, in truth, of much beauty, and long life; but of moſt uſe in *pavements* and *flourings*.

Plaſtique; is not only under *Sculpture*, but indeed very *Sculpture* it ſelf: but with this difference; that the *Plaſterer* doth make his Figures by *Addition*, and the *Carver* by *Subſtraction*; whereupon *Michael Angelo* was wont to ſay ſomewhat pleaſantly, That *Sculpture* was nothing but a *purgation* of *ſuperfluities*. For take away from a piece of wood or ſtone all that is *ſuperfluous*, and the remainder is the intended *Figure*. Of this *plaſtick Art*, the chief uſe with us is in the graceful *fretting* of Roofs: But the *Italians* apply it to the *mantling* of *Chimneys* with great Figures. A cheap piece of *Magnificence*, and as durable almoſt within doors, as harder *Forms* in the weather. And here, though it be a little excurſion, I cannot paſs unremembred again, their manner of diſguiſing the ſhafts of *Chimneys* in various faſhions, whereof the nobleſt is the *Pyramidal*: being in truth a piece of Polite and Civil diſcretion, to convert even the *conduits* of ſoot and ſmoak into *Ornaments*; whereof I have hitherto ſpoken as far as may concern the Body of the Building.

Now theſe are *Ornaments* alſo without, as *Gardens*, *Fountains*, *Groves*, *Conſervatories* of rare *Beaſts*,

Beasts, *Birds*, and *Fishes*. Of which ignoble kind of Creatures, *We ought not*, saith our greatest Master among the Sons of Nature, *childishly to despise the Contemplation*; *for in all things that are natural*, *there is ever something that is admirable*. Of these external delights a word or two.

* *Arist. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. *de part. Anim.* Δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τὰς ἀτιμοτέρων ζώων θεωρίαν. Ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἔστι τι θαυμαστόν.

First, I must note a certain contrariety betweene *building* and *gardening*: For as *Fabricks* should be *regular*, so *Gardens* should be *irregular*, or at least cast into a very wilde *Regularity*. To exemplifie my conceit, I have seen a *Garden*, for the manner perchance incomparable, into which the first Access was a high walk like a *Tarrace*, from whence might be taken a general view of the whole *Plot* below, but rather in a delightfull confusion, then with any plain distinction of the pieces. From this the *Beholder* descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed again by several *mountings* and *valings*, to various entertainments of his *scent* and *sight*: which I shall not need to describe, for that were poetical, let me only note this, that every one of these diversities, was as if he had been *magically* transported into a new *Garden*.

But though other *Countreys* have more benefit of Sun then we, and thereby more properly tyed to contemplate this delight; yet have I seen in our *own*, a delicate and diligent *curiosity*, surely without *parallel* among forraign *Nations*: Namely, in the Garden of Sir *Henry Fanshaw*, at his Seat in *Ware-Park*; where I well remember, he did so precisely examine the *tinctures* and *seasons* of his *flowers*, that in their *settings*, the *inwardest* of which

that

that were to come up at the same time, should be alwayes a little *darker* then the *outmost*, and so serve them for a kind of gentle *shadow*, like a piece, not of *Nature*, but of *Art*: which mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his *Name*, for the dear *friendship* that was long between us: though I must confess, with much wrong to his other *vertues*; which deserve a more solid *Memorial*, then among these vacant Observations. So much of *Gardens*.

Fountains are *figured*, or only plain *Water'd-works*: Of either of which, I will describe a matchless pattern.

The first, done by the famous hand of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, in the figure of a sturdy *woman*, *washing* and *winding* of linnen clothes; in which Act, she *wrings* out the water that made the *Fountain*; which was a graceful and natural conceit in the Artificer, implying this rule; That all *designs* of this kind, should be *proper*.

The other doth merit some larger expression; There went a long, straight, mossie walk of competent breadth, green, and soft under foot, listed on both sides with an *Aquæduct* of white stone, brest-high, which had a hollow *Channel* on the top, where ran a pretty trickling stream; on the *edge* whereof, were couched very thick all along, certain small *pipes* of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a cock, they did sprout over interchangeably from side to side, above mans height, in forms of *Arches*, without any interfection or meeting aloft, because the pipes were not exactly opposite; so as the *Beholder*, besides that which was sent in the *Aquæducts* on both hands in his view, did

walk, as it were, under a continual *Bower* and *Hemisphere* of water, without any drop falling on him. An *Invention* for refreshment, surely far excelling all the *Alexandrian* Delicacies, and *Pneumaticks* of *Hero*.

Groves, and artificial Devices under ground, are of great expence, and little dignity; which for my part, I could wish converted here into those *Crypteria*, whereof mention is made among the curious provisions of *Tycho Brahe* the Dane, *Ptolomy*, as I may well call him: which were deep *concaves* in Gardens, where the *Stars* might be observed even at *noon*. For (by the way) to think that the brightness of the Suns body above, doth drown our discerning of the lesser lights, is a popular errour; the sole impediment being that lustre, which by *reflection*, doth spread about us from the face of the Earth; so as the *caves* before touched, may well conduce, not to a delicious, but to a learned pleasure.

In *Aviaries* of Wire, to keep Birds of all sorts, the *Italians* (though no wasteful Nation) do in some places bestow vast expence; including great scope of *ground*, variety of *bushes*, *trees* of good height, running *waters*, and sometime a *Stove* annexed, to contemper the *Air* in Winter. So are those *Chantereſſes*, unless they be such as perhaps delight as much in their wing, as in their voice, may live long among so good provisions, and room, before they know that they are *prisoners*; reducing often to my memory that conceit of the *Roman Stoick*, who in comparison of his own free *contemplations*, did think divers great and splendent fortunes of his time, little more then *commodious captivities*.

Con-

Concerning *Ponds* of pleaſure near the habitation; I will refer my ſelf to a grave *Author* of our own (though more illuſtrious by his other † work) namely, *Sarisburienſis de Piſcinâ.* *De nugis Curial, &c.*

And here I will end the ſecond part touching *Ornaments*, both *within*, and *without* the *Fabrick*.

Now, as almoſt all thoſe which have delivered the *Elements* of *Logick*, do uſually conclude with a Chapter touching *Method*: ſo I am here ſeized with a kind of critical ſpirit, and deſirous to ſhut up theſe building *Elements* with ſome *Methodical* direction how to *cenſure* Fabricks already raiſed: for indeed, without ſome way to contract our *Judgement*, which among ſo many particulars, would be loſt by diffuſion. I ſhould think it almoſt harder to be a good *Cenſurer*, then a good *Architect*: Becauſe the *working* part may be helped with *Deliberation*, but the *Judging* muſt flow from an *extemporal habit*. Therefore (not to leave this laſt *Piece* without ſome *Light*) I could wiſh him that cometh to examine any nobler *Work*, firſt of all to examine himſelf, whether perchance the *ſight* of many brave things before (which remain like impreſſed forms) have not made him apt to think nothing *good* but that vvhich is the *beſt*; for this *humour* vvere too ſowre. Next, before he come to ſettle any imaginable opinion, let him by all means ſeek to inform himſelf preciſely, of the Age of the *Work* upon vvhich he muſt paſs his *Doom*. And if he ſhall find the apparent *Decayes* to exceed the proportion of *Time*; then let him conclude vvithout farther inquiſition, as an abſolute Decree, that either the *Materials* vvere too *ſlight*, or the Seat is nought. Now, after theſe premiſſes, if the *Houſe*

be found to bear his *years* vvell, (vvhich is alwayes a token of found *constitution*) Then let him ſuddenly run backwards, (for the *Method* of *cenſuring* is contrary to the *Method* of *compoſing*) from the *Ornaments* (vvhich firſt allure the *Eye*) to the more eſſential *Members*, till at laſt he be able to form this *Concluſion*, that the *Work* is *Commodious*, *Firm*, and *Delightfull*; vvhich (as I ſaid in the beginning) are the three capital *Conditions* required in good *Buildings*, by all *Authors*, both Ancient and Modern. And this is, as I may term it, the moſt *Scientifical* vvay of *Cenſuring*. There are two other vvhich I muſt not forget: The firſt in *Georgio Vaſſari*, before his laborious *Work* of the lives of *Architects*, vvhich is to paſs a running examination over the vvhole *Edifice*, according to the properties of a *well ſhapen Man*. As vvhether the *Walls* ſtand upright upon clean footing and *Foundation*; vvhether the *Fabrick* be of a beautiful *Stature*; vvhether for the *breadth* it appear vvell *burniſhed*; vvhether the principal *Entrance* be on the middle Line of the *Front* or *Face*, like our *Mouths*; vvhether the *Windows*, as our *Eyes*, be ſet in equal number and diſtance on both ſides; vvhether the *Offices*, like the *Veins* in our Bodies, be uſefully diſtributed, and ſo forth. For this *Allegorical* review may be driven as far as any *Wit* vvill, that is at leaſure.

The ſecond vvay is in *Vitruvius* himſelf, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. vvhere he ſummarily determineth ſix *Conſiderations*, vvhich accompliſh this vvhole Art.

Ordinatio.
Diſpoſitio.
Eurythmia.

Sym-

Symmetria.
Decor, and
Diſtributio.

Whereof (in my conceit) we may ſpare him the firſt two; for as far as I can perceive, either by his *Interpreters*, or by his own *Text* (which in that very place, where perchance he ſhould be *cleareſt*, is of all other the *cloudieſt*) he meaneth nothing by *Ordination*, but a well ſetling of the *Model* or *Scale* of the whole *Work*. Nor by *Diſpoſition*, more then a neat and full expreſſion of the firſt *Idea* or *Deſignment* thereof; which perchance do more belong to the *Artificer*, then to the *Cenſurer*. The other four are enough to condemn, or abſolve any *Fabrick* whatſoever. Whereof *Eurythmia* is that agreeable *Harmony* between the breadth, length, and height of all the Rooms of the *Fabrick*, which ſuddenly, where it is, taketh every *Beholder* by the ſecret power of *Proportion*: wherein let me only note this, That though the leaſt error or offence that can be committed againſt *ſight*, is exceſs of height; yet that fault is no where of ſmall importance, becauſe it is the greateſt offence againſt the Purſe.

Symmetria is the *convenience* that runneth between the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereof I have formerly ſpoken.

Decor is the keeping of a due *Reſpect* between the *Inhabitant* and the *Habitation*. Whence *Palladius* did conclude, that the principal *Entrance* was never to be regulated by any certain *Dimenſions*, but by the dignity of the *Maſter*; yet to exceed rather in the *more*, then in the *leſs*, is a mark of *Generoſity*, and may alwayes be excuſed with ſome noble *Emblem*,

or *Inscription*, as that of the *Conte di Bavillacqua*, over his large *Gate* at *Verona*, where perchance had been committed a little *Disproportion*.

Patet ſanua, Cor magis.

And here likewiſe I muſt remember our ever memorable Sir *Philip Sidney*, (whoſe *Wit* was in truth the very rule of *Congruity*) who well knowing that *Baſilius* (as he had painted the *State* of his *Mind*) did rather want ſome extraordinary *Forms* to entertain his *Fancy*, then *room* for *Courtiers*; was contented to place him in a *Star-like Lodge*; which otherwiſe in ſevere *Judgement* of Art, had been an incommodious *Figure*.

Diſtributio is that uſeful *Caſting* of all *Rooms* for *Office*, *Entertainment*, or *Pleaſure*; which I have handled before at more length then any other Piece.

Theſe are the Four *Heads* which every man ſhould run over, before he paſs any determinate *Cenſure* upon the Works that he ſhall view, wherewith I will cloſe this laſt part, touching *Ornaments*. Againſt which (me thinks) I hear an *Objection*, even from ſome well-meaning man; That theſe delightful *Crafts*, may be divers wayes ill applyed in a *Land*. I muſt confeſs indeed, there may be a *Laſcivious*, and there may be likewiſe a *ſuperſtitious* uſe, both of *Picture* and *Sculpture*: To which poſſibility of miſ-application, not only theſe *Semi-liberal* Arts are ſubject but even the higheſt perfections and *endowments* of *Nature*. As *Beauty* in a light woman; *Eloquence* in a mutinous man; *Reſolution* in an Aſſaſſinate; Prudent *Obſervation* of hours and humours, in a corrupt *Courtier*; *Sharp-*

neſs

ness of wit and argument in a seducing Scholar, and the like. Nay, finally, let me ask what ART can be more pernicious, then even RELIGION it self, if it self be converted into an *Instrument* of ART: Therefore, *Ab abuti ad non uti, negatur consequentia.*

Thus having stitched (in some sort) together these *Animadversions* touching *Architecture*, and the *Ornaments* thereof; I now feel that *contemplative* spirits are as restless as *active*, for doubting with my self, (as all weakness is jealous) that I may be thought to have spent my poor observation abroad about nothing but *Stone* and *Timber*, and such Rubbage; I am thereby led into an immodesty of proclaiming another *Work*, which I have long devoted to the service of my *Countrey*: Namely, A *Philosophical Survey* of *Education*, which is indeed a second *Building*, or repairing of Nature, and as I may term it, a kind of *Moral Architecture*; whereof such Notes as I have taken in my forraign transcursions or abodes, I hope to utter without publick offence, though still with the freedom of a plain *Kentish*-man. In the mean while, I have let these other *gleanings* fly abroad, like the Bird out of the *Ark*, to discover what footing may be for that which shall follow.

FINIS.

A Philoſophical

SURVEY
OF
EDUCATION,
OR
Moral Architecture.

BY

HENRY WOTTON Kt.
PROVOST
OF
ETON COLLEDGE.

UMI

THE
Epiſtle Dedicatory
TO THE
KING.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I *Need no other Motive to dedicate this Diſcourſe, which followeth, unto your Majeſty, then the very Subject it ſelf, ſo properly pertaining to your Soveraign Goodneſs: For thereby you are* Pater Patriæ. *And it is none of the leaſt Attributes wherewith God hath bleſſed both Your Royal Perſon, and Your People, that You are ſo. On the other ſide: for mine own undertaking thereof, I had need ſay more. I am old and childleſs; and though I were a Father of many, I could leave them nothing, either in Fortune, or in Example. But having long ſince put forth a ſlight Pamphlet about the* Elements of ARCHITECTURE, *which yet hath been entertained with ſome pardon among my Friends, I was encouraged even at this age, to aſſay how I could build a* Man: *For there is a Moral, as well as a Natural or Artificial* Compilement, *and of better Materials:*

als : Which truly I have cemented together rather in the plain Tuſcan *(as our* VITRUVIUS *termeth it) then in the* Corinthian *form. Howſoever, if Your Majeſty be graciouſly pleaſed to approve any part of it, who are ſo excellent a Judge in all kind of* Structure, *I ſhall much glory in mine own Endeavour. If otherwiſe, I will be one of the firſt my ſelf, that ſhall pull it in pieces, and condemn it to Rubbage and Ruine. And ſo wiſhing Your Majeſty (as to the Beſt of Kings) a longer Life then any of the ſoundeſt Works of Nature or Art, I reſt*

Your Majeſties

Moſt devoted poor Subject,

and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

A

A SURVEY OF EDUCATION.

THis Treatiſe (vvell may it now proceed) having ſince the firſt Conception thereof been often traverſed vvith other thoughts, yea and ſometimes utterly forſaken, I have of late reſumed again, out of hope (the common flatterer) to find at leaſt ſome indulgent interpretation of my pains; eſpecially in an honeſt Endeavour of ſuch publick conſequence as this is above all other. For if any ſhall think *Education* (becauſe it is converſant about Children) to be but a private and domeſtick duty; He vvill run ſome danger, in my opinion, to have been ignorantly bred himſelf. Certain it is, that anciently the beſt compoſed Eſtates did commit this care more to the Magiſtrate then to the Parent. And certain likewiſe, That the beſt Authors have choſen

choſen rather to handle it in their Politicks, then in their Oeconomicks. As both Writers and Rulers vvell knowing vvhat a ſtream and influence it hath into Government. So great indeed, and ſo diffuſive, that albeit good Laws have been reputed alwayes the Nerves or Ligaments of humane Society; Yet are they (be it ſpoken vvith the peace of thoſe grave Profeſſors) no vvay comparable in their effects to the rules of good Nurture: For it is in civil, as it is in natural Plantations, vvhere young tender trees (though ſubject to the injuries of Air, and in danger even of their own Flexibility) vvould yet little vvant any after-underpropings and ſhoarings, if they vvere at firſt vvell faſtned in the root.

Now my preſent labour vvill (as I foreſee) conſiſt of theſe pieces.

Firſt, there muſt proceed a vvay how to diſcern the Natural Capacities and inclinations of children.

Secondly, Next muſt enſue the culture and furniſhment of the Mind.

Thirdly, the moulding of behaviour, and decent forms.

Fourthly, the tempering of affections.

Fifthly, the quickning and exciting of Obſervations and practical Judgement.

Sixthly, And the laſt in Order, but the principal in Value, being that vvhich muſt knit and conſolidate all the reſt, is the timely inſtilling of conſcientious Principles and ſeeds of Religion.

Theſe ſix branches vvill, as I conceive, embrace the vvhole buſineſs: through vvhich I ſhall run in as many ſeveral Chapters or Sections: But before I lanch from the ſhoars, let me reſolve a main queſtion

queſtion vvhich may be caſt in my vvay ; Whether there be indeed ſuch an infallible efficacy, as I ſuppoſe, in the care of Nurture and firſt Production ; For if that ſuppoſal ſhould fail us, all our Anchorage vvere looſe, and vve ſhould but vvander in a vvilde Sea.

Plutarch, I remember to the ſame purpoſe, in the firſt of his Tractates, vvhich place this ſubject vvell deſerved, endeavoureth by ſundry ſimilitudes, vvherein that man had a prompt and luxurious fancy, to ſhew us the force of Education ; All vvhich, in ſooth, might have been vvell forborn, had he but known vvhat our own Countrey-men have of late time diſcloſed among their Magnetical Experiments. There they tell us, that a rod or bar of iron having ſtood long in a window, or elſewhere, being thence taken, and by the help of a cork or the like thing, being ballanced in water, or in any other liquid ſubſtance where it may have a free mobility, will bewray a kind of unquietude and diſcontentment till it attain the former poſition. Now it is pretty to note, how in this Natural *Theorem* is involved a Moral concluſion of direct moment to the point we have in hand.

For if ſuch an unpliant and ſtubborn mineral as Iron is above any other, will acquire by meer continuance a ſecret appetite, and (as I may term it) an habitual inclination to the ſite it held before. Then how much more may we hope, through the very ſame means, (*Education* being nothing elſe but a conſtant plight and *Inurement*) to induce by cuſtome good habits into a reaſonable creature? And ſo having a little ſmooth'd my paſſage, I may now go on to the *Chapters*.

THE

THE FIRST CHAPTER OR *SECTION*;

Touching the Search of Natural Capacities and Inclinations.

Fthe two things propounded in this *Chapter*, I must begin with *Capacities*; For the manurement of Wits is like that of Soyls, where before either the pains of *Tilling*, or the charge of *Sowing*, Men use to consider what the mould will bear, Heath or Grain. Now this peradventure at the first view, may seem in Children a very slight and obvious enquiry; That age being so open and so free, and yet void of all Art to disguise or dissemble either their appetites, or their defects: Notwithstanding, we see it every day, and every where subject to much error; Partly by a very pardo-

pardonable facility in the Parents themſelves, to over-prize their own Children, while they behold them through the vapors of affection which alter the appearance; as all things ſeem bigger in miſty mornings. Nay, even ſtrangers, and the moſt diſintereſſed perſons, are yet, I know not how, commonly inclined to a favourable conceit of little ones: ſo cheap a thing it is to beſtow nothing but Hope. There is likewiſe on the other ſide, as often failing by an Undervaluation; for in divers Children their ingenerate and ſeminal powers (as I may term them) lie deep, and are of ſlow diſcloſure; no otherwiſe then in certain Vegetables, which are long before they ſhoot up and appear, and yet afterwards both of good and great increaſe; which may ſerve to excite care, and to prevent deſpair in Parents: for if their Child be not ſuch a ſpeedy ſpreader and brancher, like the Vine, yet perchance he may prove *proles tardè creſcentis Olivæ*; and yield, though with a little longer expectation, as uſeful, and more ſober fruit then the other. And, I muſt confeſs, I take ſome delight in theſe kind of compariſons; remembring well what I have often heard my truly Noble, and moſt dear Nephew, Sir *Edmund Bacon*, ſay, out of his exquiſite Contemplations, and Philoſophical Practice: That Nature ſurely (if ſhe be well ſtudied) is the beſt *Moraliſt*, and hath much good Counſel hidden in her boſome.

Now here then will lie the whole buſineſs, to ſet down before-hand certain Signatures of Hopefulneſs, or *Characters*, (as I will rather call them, becauſe that Word hath gotten already ſome entertainment among us) whereby may be timely deſcried what the Child will prove in probability. Theſe

Characters must necessarily be either impressed in the outward person, like stamps of Nature, or must otherwise be taken from some emergent act of his mind; wherein of the former sort.

The first is that which first incurreth into sight; namely, the Child's colour or complexion, (as we vulgarily term it) and thence perchance some judgment of the predominant humour.

The next is the structure, and conformation of the limbs.

And the third is a certain spirituous resultance from the other two, which makes the countenance.

The second kind of these *Characters* (which are rather mental then personal) be of such variety (because minds are more active then bodies) that I purpose, for the plainest delivery, to resolve all my gatherings touching both kinds, iuto a *Rapsody* of several Observations: For I dare not give them the Authoritative Title of *Aphorisms*; which yet, when I shall have mustered them, if their own strength be considered rather in troop then singly, as they say, by Pole, may perchance make a reasonable Moral *Prognostick*.

The Observations.

THere are in the course of humane life, from our Cradles upward, certain Periods, or Degrees of change, commonly (as the Ancients have noted) every seven years, whereof the two first *Septynaries*, and half of the third, or thereabouts, I will call the Obsequious age, apt to imbibe all manner of impressions: which time of the suppleness of Obedience is to be plied by Parents, be-

before the ſtiffneſs of Will come on too faſt.

There is no Complexion, or Compoſition in Children, either priviledged from bad proof, or prejudiced from good. Always I except prodigious Forms, and meer natural Impotencies, which are unmanageable *In toto Genere*, and no more to be cultivated then the ſands of *Arabia*.

More ordinary Imperfections and Diſtortions of the Body in Figure, are ſo far from excluding all hope, that we uſually ſee them attended with ſome notable Compenſation one way or other, whereof our own time hath produced with us no ſlight Example in a great Miniſter of State, and many other.

I am yet willing to grant, that generally in Nature, the beſt outward *ſhapes* are alſo the likelieſt to be conſociated with good inward *faculties*: for this Concluſion hath ſomewhat from the *Divine Light*: ſince God himſelf made this great *World* (whereof *Man* is the little *Model*) of ſuch Harmonious Beauty in all the parts, to be the Receptacle of his perfecteſt Creature.

Touching ſuch Conjectures as depend on the Complexions of Children: Albeit I make no queſtion but all kind of Wits and Capacities may be found under all *Tinctures* and *Integuments*; yet I will particularly deſcribe one or two with ſome preference, though without prejudice of the reſt.

The firſt ſhall be a *Paliſh Clearneſs*, evenly and ſmoothly ſpread, not overthin and waſhy, but of a pretty ſolid conſiſtence; from which equal diſtribution of the *Phlegmatick Humour*, vvhich is the proper allay of fervent Bloud, I am vvont to hope vvhere I ſee it) vvill flovv a future quietude and ſerenitude in the Affections, and a diſcreet ſvveetneſs and moderation in the Manners; not ſo quick

perchance of conceit, as ſlovv to paſſion; and com-
monly leſs inventive, then judicious: Hovvſoever,
for the moſt part, proving very plauſible, inſinuant
and fortunate men.

The other is, the pure ſanguine *Melancholick Tu-
ſture*, vvherein I vvould vviſh five parts of the firſt
to three of the ſecond; that ſo there may be the
greater portion of that vvhich muſt illuminate and
enrich the Fancy, and yet no ſcant of the other
to fix and determine the Judgement: for ſurely
the right natural definition of a vviſe Habit, is no-
thing elſe but a plentifulneſs and promptneſs in
the Store-houſe of the Mind of clear Imagination
vvell fixed.

Marcilius Ficinus (the deep *Florentine Platonick*)
increaſeth theſe proportions, requiring eight to
tvvo in the foreſaid Humours; and vvithal, adding
tvvo more of pure Choler: But of that I ſhall ſpeak
more among the invvard Motions, purpoſely here
forbearing it, vvhere I only contemplate the ſuper-
ficial Appearance.

In the outvvard frame and fabrick of the Body,
vvhich is the next object after Complexion. As
erect and forvvard ſtature, a large breſt, neat and
pliant joynts, and the like, may be good ſignifi-
eants of health, of ſtrength, or agility, but are very
forreign Arguments of Wit: I vvill therefore only
ſay ſomevvhat of the *Head* and *Eye*, as far as may
conduce to my preſent ſcope.

The Head in a Child I vviſh great and round,
vvhich is the capableſt Figure, and the freeſt from
all reſtraint and compreſſion of the parts: For ſince
in the Section of Bodies, vve find Man, of all ſenſi-
ble Creatures, to have the fulleſt Brain to his pro-
portion, and that it vvas ſo provided by the Su-
prem

preme Wiſdom, for the lodging of the intellective Faculties: It muſt needs be a ſilent Character of Hope, vvhen, in the *Oeconomical* Providence of Nature, (as I may term it) there is good ſtore of roomage and receipt vvhere thoſe povvers are ſtovved: As commonly vve may think Husbanding men to foreſee their ovvn Plenty, vvho prepare beforehand large Barns and Garnaries. Yet *Thucidides* (anciently one of the excellenteſt Wits in the learnedſt part of the World) ſeems (if *Marcellinus* in his life have vvell deſcribed him) to have been ſomevvhat Taper-headed, as many of the *Genoueſers* are at this day in common Obſervation, vvho yet be a People of ſingular Sagacity: yea, I call not impertinently to mind, that one of my time in *Venice*, had Wit enough to become the Civil Head of that grave *Republick*, vvho yet for the littleneſs of his own natural Head, vvas ſirnamed *Il Donato Teſtolina*. But the Obtruſion of ſuch particular Inſtances as theſe, are unſufficient to diſauthorize a Note grounded upon the final intention of Nature.

The *Eye* in Children (vvhich commonly let them rovvl at pleaſure) is of curious obſervation, eſpecially in point of diſcovery: For it loveth, or hateth, before vve can diſcern the heart; it conſenteth, or denieth, before the tongue; it reſolveth, or runeth avvay before the feet: nay, vve ſhall often mark in it a dulneſs, or apprehenſiveneſs, even before the underſtanding. In ſhort, it betrayeth in a manner the vvhole ſtate of the Mind, and letteth out all our fancies and paſſions as it vvere by a vvindovv. I ſhall therefore require in that Organ, vvithout Poetical Conceits, (as far as may concern my purpoſe, be the colour vvhat it vvill) only a ſetled vivacity, nor vvandring, nor ſtupid,

yet, I must confess, I have known a number of dull-sighted, very sharp-witted men.

The truth is, that if in these external marks, or signatures, there be any certainty, it must be taken from that which I have formerly called, *The tact Resultance*. By which, what I mean, I shall more properly explain in the third *Section*, when I come to handle the general air of the person and carriage. I will now hasten to those more solid and conclusive *Characters*, which, as I have said, are emergent from the Mind; and which often times do start out of Children when themselves least think of it: for, let me tell you, Nature is *Prodi-torious*.

And first I must begin with a strange Note: That a Child will have *Tantum ingenij quantum iræ*; That is, in my construction, as much wit as he hath waywardness. This Rule we have cited by a very * Learned man, somewhere out of *Seneca*, and exemplified by *Angelus Politianus* (none of the meanest Criticks) who writing the life of *Pietro de Medici*, concludeth, That he was likely to prove a Wise man, because he was a froward Boy. Truly, I have been many times tempted to wonder, notwithstanding the value of these Authors, How so disordinate a Passion seated in the Heart, and boyling in the Bloud, could betoken a good constitution of the Brain, which, above any other, is, or should be, the coldest part: But because all sudden motions must necessarily imply a quick apprehension of the first stirring cause, and that the dullest of other creatures are the latest offended, I am content for the present to yield it some credit

* Caput

We have another, somewhat of the same mould from

from *Quintilian*, (whom I have ever thought, since any use of my poor judgement, both the eleganteſt and ſoundeſt of all the *Roman Pens*) That a Child will have *Tantum ingenii, quantum memoriæ*: This, I muſt confeſs, will bear a ſtronger Conſequence of Hope; for Memory is not only conſiderable as it is in it ſelf a good Retention, but likewiſe as it is an infallible Argument of good Attention; a point of no ſmall value in that Age, which a fair Orange, or a red Apple will divert.

There is yet another in the ſame Writer, and in the ſame place, where he handleth this very *Theam*, How to deſcry Capacities: That Parents ſhould mark, whether their Children be naturally apt to imitate; wherewith certainly all fine fancies are caught, and ſome little leſs then raviſhed. And we have a Tradition of *Quintilian* himſelf, that when he ſaw any well-expreſſed Image of grief, either in *Picture*, or *Sculpture*, he would uſually weep: For, being a Teacher of Oratory in School, he was perhaps affected with a paſſionate Piece of *Art*, as with a kind of *mute Eloquence*. True it is indeed, which a great Maſter hath long before taught us, That Man is of all Creatures the moſt Mimical, as a kind of near adjunct to Reaſon: Arguing neceſſarily in thoſe that can do it well, vvhether it be in *Geſtures*, in *Styles*, in *Speech*, in *Faſhion*, in *Accents*, or hovvſoever, no ſhallovv Impreſſion of Similitudes and Differences; about vvhich, in effect, is converſant the vvhole Wiſdom of the World. *Ariſtotle in Rhetoricis.*

Beſides theſe, I vvould vviſh Parents to mark heedfully the vvitty Excuſes of their Children, eſpecially at Suddains and Surprizals; but rather to mark then pamper them, for that vvere other-

vviſe to cheriſh untruth: vvhereof I ſhall ſpeak more in the *Final Section*.

Again, are to be obſerved not only his ovvn crafty and pertinent Evaſions, but likevviſe with what kind of Jeſts, or pleaſant Accidents he is moſt taken in others; vvhich vvill diſcover the very degree of his apprehenſion, and even reach as far as to the cenſuring of the vvhole Nations, vvhether they be flat and dull, or of quick capacity: For ſurely, vve have argument enough at this day to conclude, the Ancient *Gretians* an Ingenious People; of vvhom the Vulgar ſort, ſuch as vvere haunters of *Theaters*, took pleaſure in the Conceits of *Ariſtophanes*; reſerving my judgement to other place upon the filthy Obſcenities of that and other Authors, vvell arguing among Chriſtians, vvhen all is ſaid, that the Devil is one of the vvittieſt.

Again, it ſhall be fit to note, hovv prettily the Child himſelf doth manage his pretty paſtimes: This may vvell become an ordinary Parent, to vvhich ſo great an Emperor as *Auguſtus* deſcended in the higheſt of his State, and graveſt of his Age, vvho collected (as *Suetonius* tells us) out of all the knovvn World, eſpecially from the *Syrians* and *Moors*, (where, by the way, we may note, who were then reputed the ſharpeſt Nations) little Boys of the rareſt Feſtivity, to play before him at their ordinary Sports. And indeed there is much to be noted, worthy of a ſadder judgement in the Wilineſs of that Age.

Again, I would have noted in Children, not only their Articulate Anſwers, but likewiſe certain ſmiles and frowns upon incident Occaſions; which though they be dumb and light paſſions, will diſcover much of that inward power which moveth them;

them; especially when withal they lighten or cloud the whole face in a moment.

Lastly, let not his very Dreams be neglected; for, without question, there is a great *Analogy* between those Apprehensions which he hath taken by day into his Fancy, and his nocturnal Impressions; particularly in that Age, which is not yet troubled with the fumes and cares of the World; so as the Soul hath a freer and more defecated Operation: And this is enough for the disclosing of a good Capacity in the popular way which I have followed, because the Subject is general.

Now for the second Part of this Chapter, touching Inclinations: for after we know how far a Child is capable, the next will be to know unto what course he is naturally most inclined. There must go before a main research, whether the Child that I am to manage, be of a good nature or no; as the same term is vulgarly taken, for an ingenious and tractable disposition: which being a fundamental Point, and the first root of all virtuous Actions, and though round about in every Mothers mouth, yet a thing which will need very nice and narrow Observation: I have spent some diligence in collecting certain private Notes, which may direct this Inquiry.

First, therefore, when I mark in Children much solitude and silence, I like it not, nor any thing born before his time, as this must needs be in that sociable and exposed Age, as they are for the most part. When either alone, or in company, they sit still without doing of any thing, I like it worse; for surely all dispositions to Idleness, or Vacancy, even before they grow habits, are dangerous: and there is commonly but a little distance in time between doing of nothing, and doing of ill. The

THE APHORISMS OF EDUCATION.

Time is the plaineſt Legend, and every day a leaf is turned.

IF we look abroad, we ſhall ſee many proceed yearly out of the Schools of Experience, whereas few, in compariſon, are commended unto Degrees by us: indeed the multitude of thoſe Schools infinitely exceeding our numbers; but eſpecially becauſe the means which they follow are far more obvious and eaſie. Libraries and Ledures profiting none, but ſuch as bring ſome meaſure of underſtanding with them; but the Occurrents of the World being eaſily entertained by the weakeſt capacities, aſſiſted only with common ſenſe: neither therefore is this Legend of time to be contemned by thoſe whoſe Wits are more pregnant, or Studies furniſhed with greateſt choice. The Students of Common Law manifeſt the benefit ariſing from the uſe thereof; who as by reading their Year Books they recover

over the Experience by former Ages: ſo by dayly repair to the Courts of Juſtice, they ſuffer nothing of the preſent to paſs unobſerved. And I note, That whereas forreign Univerſities (in conferring Degrees) regard meerly the performance of ſome ſolemn exerciſe: ours further require a certain expence of time, ſuppoſing (as I conceive) that howſoever exerciſe of form may be deceitfully diſpatched of courſe: yet that he who lives ſome ſpace among the aſſiduous advantages and helps of Knowledg, (except he be of the Society of the Antipodes, who turn night into day, and take no notice of what is done) cannot chuſe but receive ſo much upon ordinary obſervation, as may make him Maſter of ſome Art; which frequent opportunities, as they happily add ſomething to thoſe who are but idle lookers on, ſo, no doubt, they muſt advance perfection in thoſe who are more ſtudiouſly obſervant; every day preſenting their Judgements with matters examinable by the precepts they read, and moſt producing to their inventions, occurrents fit for further inquiry.

Every Nature is not a fit Stock to graft a Scholer on.

THe Spaniard *(that wrote the Trial of Wits) undertakes to ſhew what Complexion is fit for every Profeſſion. I will not diſable any for proving a Scholer; nor yet diſſemble that I have ſeen many happily forced upon that courſe, to which by nature they ſeemed much indiſpoſed. Sometimes the poſſibility of preferment prevailing with the credulous, expectation of leſs expence with the covetous, opinion of eaſe with the fond, and aſſurance of remoteneſs with the unkind parents, have moved them, without diſcretion, to engage their children in adventures of Learning, by whoſe return they have received but ſmall contentment:*

But

But they who are deceived in their first designs, deserve less to be condemned, as such who (after sufficient trial) persist in their wilfulness are no way to be pitied. I have known some who have been acquainted (by the complaints of Governors, clamors of Creditors, and confessions of their Sons) what might be expected from them, yet have held them in with strong hand, till they have desperately quit, or disgracefully forfeited the places where they lived. Deprived of which, they might hope to avoid some misery, if their Friends, who were so careful to bestow them in a Colledg when they were young, would be so good as to provide a room for them in some Hospital when they are old.

He seldom speeds well in his course, that stumbles at his setting forth.

I Have ever been unwilling to hear, and careful not to utter predictions of ill success; Oracles proceeding as well from Superstitious ignorance, as curious Learning: and what I deliver in these words, occasioned by examples past, I desire may be applied for prevention, rather then prejudice to any hereafter. To the same effect I heard a discreet Censor lesson a young Scholer, negligent at his first entrance to the Elements of Logick and Philosophy, telling him, That a Child starved at nurse, would hardly prove an able man. And I have known some who attended with much expectation at their first appearing, have stained the Maidenhead of their Credit with some negligent performance, fall into irrecoverable dislike with others. and hardly escape despair of themselves. They may make a better excuse, but not hope for more favour, who can impute the fault of their inauspicious attempts some where else; a circumstance necessarily to be considered where punishment is inflicted: but where reward is proposed for worth, it is as usually

uſually detained from thoſe who could not, as from thoſe who cared not to deſerve it.

The way to Knowledg by Epitomies is too ſtreight, by Commentaries too much about.

IT is ſufferable in any to uſe what liberty they liſt in their own manner of Writing, but the contracting and extending the lines and ſenſe of others, if the firſt Authors might ſpeak for themſelves, would appear a thankleſs office; and if the Readers did confer with the Originals, they would confeſs they were not throughly or rightly informed. Epitomies are helpful to the memory, and of good private uſe, but ſet forth for publick Monuments, accuſe the induſtrious Writers of delivering much impertinency, and divert many to cloſe and ſhallow ciſterns, whoſe leaſure might well be acquainted with more deep and open ſprings. In brief, what I heard ſometimes ſpoken of Ramus, *I believe of thoſe thrifty Compendiums; They ſhew a ſhort courſe to thoſe who are contented to know a little, and a ſure way to ſuch whoſe care is not to underſtand much. Commentaries are guilty of the contrary extreme, ſtifling the Text with infinite additions, and ſcruing thoſe conceits from the words, which, if the Authors were ſet on the Rack, they would never acknowledge. He who is diſcreet in beſtowing his pains, will ſuſpect thoſe places to be deſert and barren, where the way cannot be found without a guide; and leave curioſity in enqueſt of obſcurities, which, before it receive content, doth loſe or tire it ſelf with digreſſions.*

Diſ-

Diſcretion is the moſt univerſal Art, and hath more Profeſſors then Students.

Diſcretion, as I underſtand it, conſiſts in the uſeful knowledg of what is fit and comely; of neceſſary direction in the practice of moral duties, but moſt eſteemed in the compoſing and framing civil behaviour: men ordinarily being better content to be diſhoneſt, then to be conſcious to themſelves that they are unmannerly. Few ſtudy it, becauſe it is attained rather by a natural felicity, then by any indeavour or pains; and many profeſs it, preſuming on ſufficiency to cenſure others: and as unable to diſcern themſelves, concerning their own defects, as unaccuſtomed to be rightly informed. It little concerns men indifferent what we do in that kind; and our friends are either nothing offended therewith, or unwilling to offend us with their relation: our enemies ſeldom ſpeak of it in our hearing; and when we hear, we as hardly believe them.

They who travel far, eaſily miſs their way.

Travel is reputed a proper means to create men wiſe, and a poſſible to make them honeſt, becauſe it forces circumſpectneſs on thoſe abroad, who at home are nurſed in ſecurity; and perſwadeth good behaviour and temperance to ſuch, who (far from friends and means) are willing to have little to do with the Lawyer or Phyſician. Men coming into other Countries, as if born into a ſtrange world, with ſome diſcretion above them, which teacheth both to diſtruſt others, and keep themſelves ſober; and to ſhift off thoſe homely faſhions which Nature and Cuſtome in their years of ſimplicity had put on them. But theſe effects are not general, many receiving more good in their

Bodies

Bodies by the toſſing of the Ship, whilſt they are at Sea, then benefit in their Minds by breathing in a forreign Air, when they come to Land. Yet they are as deſirous men ſhould obſerve they have travelled, as careful in their travels to obſerve nothing; and therefore if they be not able to make it known by their relation and diſcourſe, it ſhall appear by their clothes and geſture: Some attain to greater perfection, being able to ſhew at what charge they have ſeen other places, by their excellency in ſome other rare vices, or irregularity in ſtrange opinions. As the times are, he is commended that makes a ſaving Voyage, and leaſt diſcredits his Travels, who returns the ſame man he went.

Somewhat of the Gentleman gives a tincture to a Scholer, too much ſtains him.

HE who adviſed the Philoſopher (altogether devoted to the Muſes) ſometimes to offer Sacrifice at the Altars of the Graces, thought Knowledg to be imperfect without Behaviour, which experience confirms, able to ſhew, that the want thereof breeds as much diſreſpect to many Scholers with the Obſervers of Ceremonies, as improper affectation moves diſtaſte in ſome ſubſtantial judgements. Indeed ſlovenlineſs is the worſt ſign of a hard Student, and civility the beſt exerciſe of the remiſs: yet not to be exact in the phraſe of Complement, or geſtures of Courteſie, the indifferent do pardon to thoſe who have been otherwiſe buſied; and rather deride, then applaud ſuch, who think it perfection enough to have a good outſide, and happineſs to be ſeen amongſt thoſe who have better; pleaſing themſelves more in opinion of ſome proficiency, in terms of hunting or horſemanſhip, which few that are ſtudious underſtand, then they bluſh to be known ignorant in that which every man ought to know: To which vanity I have known

more

none more enclined, then those whose birth did neither require, nor fortunes encourage them to such costly idleness; who at length made sensible by necessity, haply have the grace to repent, but seldom times the gift to recover.

Books and Friends are better received by weight then number.

THe necessities of Life do warrant multitude of employments, and the variety of Nature's excuse the diversity of delights: but to my discretion that course seems most desirable, whose business occasions no further trouble, nor leisure requires other Recreations then may indifferently be entertained with Books and Friends. They are indeed happy who meet with such whom they may trust in both kinds; and undoubtedly wise, that can well apply them: the imperfect apprehension and misuse never producing any good effect: For so we see capacious understandings (by continual inquiry and perusal of all sorts of Authors) thrive no better in their knowledg then some men of good disposition (addicted generally to acquaintance) are gainers by the reckoning, when they cast up their expence of time; the hunger of the one breedeth a Consumption, and the others thirst not determining but by some humorous Disease: nay, they who seem to respect choice, sometimes err perniciously: Which the French man observed, who maintained his Country was much the worse by old mens studying the venome of Policy, and young mens reading the dregs of Fancy. And it is manifest that in our little Commonwealth of Learning, much disparagement is occasioned, when able Spirits (attracted by familiarity) are inflamed with Faction, and good Natures (carried away with the stream of more pleasant company) are drowned in good Fellowship.

Love

Love that obſerves Formality is ſeated rather in the brain, then in the heart.

BY *formality*, *I mean ſomething more then ceremony and Complement (which are the geſture and phraſe of diſſemblers,) even a ſolemn reſervedneſs, which may well conſiſt with honeſty: not but that I admire a conſtant gravity, which upon no aſſurance will bewray the leaſt imperfection to any: but confeſs, I am far from ſuſpecting ſimplicity, which (careful to obſerve more real duties towards all) is bold to treſpaſs in points of* Decorum *amongſt ſome, which without bluſhing could not be confeſt to others. A ſign, from whence the greateſt Reaſoner draws an Argument of good affection, which (as divine Charity covers many offences) in the experience of common humanity is content to diſpence with. And although Policy ſhews it to be the ſafeſt courſe to give advantage to none, yet an ingenuous nature thinks that he is ſcarce able to diſtinguiſh betwixt an enemy and a friend, that ſtands wholly upon his own guard.*

An enemy is better recovered by great kindneſs, then a friend aſſured.

THere *are ſome relicks of goodneſs found even in the worſt natures, and out of queſtion ſeeds of evil in thoſe who are eſteemed beſt; whence it may appear leſs ſtrange, that hearts poſſeſt with rancour and malice, are overcome with beneficence, and minds otherwiſe well qualified, prove ſometimes ungrateful; the one forc't to confeſs ſatisfaction received far more then was due; the other to acknowledge a debt of greater value then they are able to pay; howſoever, ſmaller courteſies ſeem not viſible,*

great ones inducing an obligation upon Publick Record.

The sincereſt Liberality conſiſts in refuſing, and the moſt innocent Thrift in ſaving.

THe beſtowing of gifts is more glorious then the refuſing of bribes; becauſe gifts are commonly delivered in publick, whereas men uſe not to confeſs what they owe, or offer what they ought not, before witneſſes. But in true eſtimation, it is as honourable a vertue not to receive, as to diſperſe benefits; it being of greater merit wholly to abſtain from things deſirable, then after fruition to be content to leave them; as they who magnifie ſingle life, prefer Virginity much before Widowhood. Yet ſome (in whom this kind of bounty is little obſerved) are unworthily cenſur'd for keeping their own, whom tenderneſs how to get honeſtly teacheth to ſpend diſcreetly; whereas ſuch need no great thriftineſs in preſerving their own, who aſſume more liberty in exacting from others.

Commendations proceeding from Subtilty, captivate the Object; from Simplicity, the Author.

THere is a skil to purchaſe, and pay debts only with fair words, drawing on good offices, and requiting them with Commendations; the felicity whereof hath made Flattery the moſt familiar Rhetorick, a leaving the old method of Perſwaſion, by inſinuating the worth of him who deſires to receive; and with more eaſe raiſing a ſelf conceit in the man who is apt to ſwallow ſuch light Bribery, and not often indiſpoſed to digeſt unthankefulneſs ſo curiouſly ſeaſoned. But it is no great inconvenience that kind-

neſs ſhould be beſtowed gratis, *or upon cheap conditions; the loſs is, when men of plain meaning adventure on the exchange and uſe of this coyn, who, forward to profeſs their belief, ingage the credit of their wiſdome on the behaviour of ſuch, whoſe actions are not within their power, and become bound in Suretiſhip, without the help of a Scrivener: which inconſiderate affection makes many earneſt Speakers in defence of injuries done to others, and ſilent Patients of wrongs unexpectedly befalling themſelves; deſire to make good their error, preſſing their tongues to ſo unjuſt ſervice; or care to diſſemble it, debarring them from the general liberty of poor complaint.*

Expectation prepareth applauſe with the weak, and prejudice with the ſtronger Judgements.

THe faſhion of commending our friends abilities before they come to trial, ſometimes takes good effect with the common ſort, who, building their belief on Authority, ſtrive to follow the conceit of their betters; but uſually amongſt men of independent judgements, this beſpeaking of opinion, breeds a purpoſe of ſtricter examination; and if the report be anſwered, procures only a bare acknowledgement; whereas if nothing be proclaimed or promiſed, they are perhaps content to ſignifie their own skil in teſtifying numbers deſert: otherwiſe great wits, jealous of their credit, are ready to ſuppreſs worth in others, to the advancing of their own, and (if more ingenuous) no farther juſt, then to forbear detraction; at the beſt rather diſpoſed to give praiſe upon their own accord, then to make payment upon demand or challenge.

The teſtimony of ſufficiency is better entertained then the report of Excellency.

THe nature of ſome places neceſſarily requires m competently endowed, but where there is choice none think the appointment to be a duty of Juſtice bound reſpect the beſt deſert: nay, the beſt conceive it a work free bounty, which men of mean qualities are likely to knowledge, and the worldly make it a buſineſs of pr unto which the moſt deſerving are leaſt apt to ſubſcri But beſides theſe unlucky influences from above, this cr ſucceſs may be occaſioned either by the too great confide of thoſe who hope to riſe, or the jealous diſtruſt of ſuch are already raiſed, whileſt they too much preſuming their own deſert, neglect all auxiliary ſtrength, theſe ſ petting ſome diminution to their own, ſtop the paſſage anothers worth; that being moſt certain, Alterius vi tuti invidet, qui diffidit ſuæ.

He that appears often in the ſame place, gets lit ground in the way to credit.

FAmiliar and frequent uſe, which makes things (firſt ungrateful) by continuance pleaſing or tol ble, takes away the luſtre from more excellent obje and reduceth them from the height of admiration, to low degrees of neglect, diſlike, and contempt; w were not ſtrange, if it wrought only among the Vulg whoſe opinion (like their ſtomacks) is overcome with tiety, or men of ſomething a higher ſtage, the edg whoſe ſight is abated and dulled by long gazing; but ſame entertainment is given by the Judicious and Learn either becauſe they obſerve ſome defects, which at

ſight are leſs viſible; or the Actors in this kind betray weakneſs in their latter attempts, uſually ſtraining ſo high at firſt, that they are not able to reach again in the reſt; or by this often obtruſion not required, diſcover a good conceit of their own Graces; and men ſo well affected to themſelves are generally ſo happy, as to have little cauſe to complain of Corrivals.

The Active man riſeth not ſo well by his ſtrength, as the expert by his ſtirrop.

THey that climb towards preferment or greatneſs by their own vertue, get up with much ado and very ſlowly; whereas ſuch as are raiſed by other means, uſually aſcend lightly and appear more happy in their ſudden advancements, ſometimes by the only ſtrength of thoſe who ſtand above, exerciſing their power in their dependants commonly by ſubordinate helps and aſſiſtance, which young men happily obtain from the commendations of friends, old men often compaſs by the credit of their wealth, who have a great advantage in that they are beſt able to purchaſe, and likely ſooneſt to leave the room.

Few men thrive by one onely Art, fewer by many.

AMongſt Tradeſmen of meaner ſort, they are not pooreſt, whoſe Shop windows open over a red Lettice; and the wealthieſt Merchants imploy Scriveners for ſecurity at home, as much as Factors for their advantage abroad, both finding not more warrantable gains by negotiating with the induſtrious, then profitable returns by dealing with unthrifts. The diſpoſition of the time, hath

taught this wisdome to more ingenuous professions, which are best entertained when they come accompanied with some other respects, whence preciseness is become a good habit to plead in, and Papistry a privy commendation to the practise of Physick, contentious Zeal making most Clyents, and sensual Superstition yielding the best Patients. They who are intent by diverse means to make progress in their estate, cannot succeed well, as he that would run upon his hands and feet makes less speed then one who goes as nature taught him; the untoward moving of some unskilful parts, hindring the going forward of those which are better disposed.

It is good to profes betimes, and practise at leasure.

THere is a saying, That the best choice is of an old Phylician and a young Lawyer: *The reason suppos'd, because where errors are fatal, ability of judgement and moderation are required; but where advantages may be wrought upon, diligence and quickness of wit are of more special use. But if it be considered who are generally most esteemed, it will appear, what opinion of the multitude sets up the one, and the favour of Authority upholds the other; yet in truth, a mans age and time are of necessary regard, such of themselves succeeding best, who in these or any other professions, neither defer their resolution too long, nor begin their practice too soon; whereas ordinarily, they who are immaturely adventurous, by their insufficiency hurt others; they who are tedious in deliberation, by some improvidence hinder themselves.*

Feli-

Felicity shews the ground where Industry builds a Fortune.

ARchimedes *the great Engineer* (*who in defending* Syracusa *against* Marcellus, *shewed wonderful Experiments of his extraordinary skil*,) *was bold to say*, That he would remove the world out of his place, if he had elsewhere to set his foot. *And truly I believe so far, that otherwise he could not do it: I am sure, so much is evident in the Architecture of Fortunes; in the raising of which the best Art or endeavour is able to do nothing, if it have not where to lay the first stone; for it is possible with the like Skil to raise a frame when we have matter; but not to create something out of nothing: the first being the ordinary effect of industry, this only of Divine Power. Indeed, many from very mean beginnings have aspired to very eminent place, and we usually ascribe it to their own worth, which no doubt in some is great; yet as in Religion we are bound to believe, so in truth the best of them will confess, that the first advantage was reached out meerly by a Divine hand, which also no doubt, did alwayes assist their after endeavours. Some have the felicity to be born heirs to good Estates, others to be made so beyond their hopes. Marriage (besides the good which oftentimes it confers directly) collaterally sometimes helps to Offices, sometimes to Benefices, sometimes to Dignities. Many rise by relation and dependance, it being a happy step to some, to have fallen on a fortunate Master, to some on a foolish, to some (few) on a good. There are divers other means, of which, as of these, I am not so fit to speak, but truly considered, they are all out of our own power, which he that presumeth most, cannot promise himself; and he that expects least, sometimes attains.*

A

CONCEIPT

Of some

OBSERVATIONS

INTENDED

Upon Things most Remarkeable in the Civil History of this Kingdom; *and likewise in the State of the Church.*

From the NORMAN *Invasion, till the Twelfth Year of our vertuous* SOVERAIGN,

CHARLES

The FIRST,

Whom God have in his precious Custody.

Of WILLIAM *the First.*

WILLIAM *the First* was a Child of Fortune from his Cradle. We do commonly and justly stile Him, *The Conqueror*: For he made a general Conquest of the whole Kingdome and People either by Composition or Arms. And he sup-

ſuppreſſed in great part the former Cuſtomes and Laws, and introduced new Behaviours and Habits; which under ſhew of Civility, were in effect but Rudiments of Subjection. Laſtly, he was near the Impoſing, and (as I may term it) the Naturallizing here of his own *Language:* At leaſt, he both made it and left it Currant in all Courts of *Plea*; whereof is yet remaining no ſmall Impreſſion.

Beſides his Atchievements by Force, I note a great Secret of State ſilently wrapped in his high Tenures of Knight Service. For, thoſe drawing as well Marriage as Wardſhip, gave him both power and occaſion to Conjugate at pleaſure the *Norman* and the *Saxon* Houſes, which by degrees might prove a ſecond Conqueſt of Affections, harder then the firſt.

Rarely had been ſeen for ſuch a Prize, an evener Trial by Battel then that at *Haſtings*: Both Commanders well acquainted before with Adventures and Peril: Both animated and edged with Victories. In their Numbers (through confuſed Report) I can collect no enormous diſparity. In their Perſons equally valiant. And for any Right or merit in the Cauſe, no difference but this: That either the One muſt keep a Kingdome ill gotten, or the Other get it as ill.

What were the main Errors, and what principally gave the Day, ſo long after, is hard to affirm. Well we may conclude, that on either ſide the Fight was conſtant and fierce: and ſurely undeterminable without the death, at leaſt, of one of the Chiefs. For the *Engliſh* would not run away, and the *Normans* could not.

After this Succeſs, His not Marching immediately

ly to the Head-City, when Terror would have swept the ground before him: but Casting about (for so the most have delivered) more like a Progress then a pursuit, as if one single Battel had given him leave to play with his Fortune, may seem strange, according to the Maximes of War at this Day: But, let all Discourse cease. States have their Conversions and Periods as well as Natural Bodies, and we were come to our *Tropique*.

In his farther Proceedings I note him sometimes most helped, and another while most hindred by the Clergy, then of mighty perswasion with the Temporal Lords and People: which taught him afterwards a Lesson when he was fast in the Throne, how to Rivet his own Greatness, by Changing the Natives into *Normans*, or other Aliens of his proper choice, in the Highest Ecclesiastical Dignities.

Then was *Stigand* the Metropolitan, In a Synod formally and fairly Deposed, being too stiff for the times: Which was indeed the wringing Point, though other Objections made more noise.

He was Crowned on *Christmas* Day, in the year of our Saviour 1066. At which Time he would fain have Compounded a Civil Title of, I know not what, Alliance or Adoption, or rather Donation from *Edward* the Confessor: As if Hereditary Kingdomes did pass like New-years gifts: The truth is, He vvas the Heir of his Sword. Yet from those Pretences howsoever, there sprang this good, That he vvas thereby in a sort engaged to cast his Government into a middle or mixed nature, as it vvere between a lawful Successor, and an invader; though generally, (as all new Empires do savour much of their beginnings) it had more

more of the Violent then of the Legal.

One of the firſt Things in his Intent, but in effect one of the laſt, was the perfecting of that which we call the *Wincheſter* Book: being a more particular inquiſition then had been before, of every Hide of Land within the precincts of his Conqueſt, and how they were holden: whenceforth we may account a full Re-ſettlement of Lordſhip and propriety through the Realm. *Quere* (for I find it obſcure) whether Poſſeſſions for the moſt part, had not remained all the while before, in a kind of Martial Diſpoſure, or perchance little better.

We have at this day more knowledge of whom he doubted, then of whom he truſted, (which I believe were very few) Certainly, his Reign muſt needs be full of ſtrong apprehenſions, and his nature was prone enough to entertain them, as may well appear by the event, in two Perſonages of all other the likelieſt to ſit faſt about him; namely, *Fitz Aubert*, *alias Fitz Oſbern*, (for he is diverſly termed) and *Odo*, one of his own brothers by the ſame womb. Theſe two had each of them contributed towards his Enterprize about forty ſhips a piece, and were the firſt foundation of his Fortunes, both in Strength, and in Example. But what became of them? Marry, after they had been dignified here with Earldomes, the one of *Hereford*, the other of *Kent*; *Fitz Oſbern* (as ſome report) was executed under him: Or (as the moſt) was diſcarded into a Forraign Service, for a pretty ſhadow of Exilement. And *Odo* his Brother was a Priſoner even at the time of his own death: So heavy with ſome high minds is an overweight of Obligation: Or otherwiſe, great Deſervers

ſervers do perchance grow intolerable Preſumers. Or laſtly, Thoſe that help to Raiſe, ſtand ever in ſome hazard to be thought likewiſe the fitteſt to Depreſs. I have been ſometimes tempted to wonder, how among theſe Jealouſies of State and Court, *Edgar Atheling* could ſubſiſt, being then the Apparent and Indubitate Heir of the *Saxon* Line. But he had tryed and found him a Prince of limber vertues: So as though he might peradventure have ſome Place in his Caution, yet he reckoned Him beneath his Fear.

He was contemporal with three Popes, *Victor*, and *Alexander* the ſecond of that Name, and *Hildebrand*, *alias*, *Gregory* the Seventh. *Victor* took the firſt hold of him, by Ratifying his Nuptial Contract within the Degrees forbidden (which is none of the leaſt Arts in the *Roman* Hierarchy, for the Chaining of Princes and their Iſſue to a perpetual Dependance.) *Alexander* drave it ſomewhat further, by lending his Banner to this Invaſion: As they have been alwayes frank of their Bleſſings to Countenance any Great action: and then (according as it ſhould proſper) to Tiſſue upon it ſome Pretence or other. As, here firſt of all came in a Challenge of Homage, forſooth, by Promiſe: which though the Conqueror ever eagerly diſavowed; Yet, I know not how, by the cunning Incroachments of *Hildebrand* (that famous Intruder) who ſucceeded, He did abaſe and avale the Soveraignty into more Servitude towards that See, (as our Authors charge his Time) then had been ſince the name of a State or a Church among us.

Now for the Conſtitution and Character of his Perſon and Mind: He was not of any delicate Con-

Contexture: His Limbs rather ſturdy then dainty: Sublime and almoſt Tumorous in His Looks and Geſtures: yea, even in His Oaths; for they ſay, He uſed to ſwear *By the Reſurrection of the Son of God.* By nature far from Profuſion, and yet a greater Sparer then a Saver; For though he had ſuch means to accumulate, yet His Forts, Caſtles, and Towers which he built, and his Garriſons which he maintained, and his Feaſtings (wherein he was only Sumptuous) could not but ſoak His Exchequer. Beſides, the multiplicity of Rewards which hang upon ſuch Acqueſts; And likewiſe certain ſecret waſte Pipes of *Eſpials* through the Realm, no leſs chargeable, then Neceſſary for new Beginners. But above all, I muſt note the Popes Legats and Dreyners, which began here to be frequent in His Time; and are no where cheap.

One ſtrange and excellent Fame doth follow Him: That the Land had never been before ſo free from Robberies and Depredations, as through His Reign; ſcarce Credible in ſuch a Broken and Ruffling Time, if it were not ſo conſtanly delivered. But, it ſhould ſeem, That to ingratiate himſelf with the vulgar (with whom there is nothing more popular then Security) He made it a Maſter-piece of his Regiment. And perchance Action had pretty well evacuated the idle people; which are the ſtock of Rapine.

His Wife, the Lady *Magdalena*, brought him four Sons, and ſix Daughters; And (beſides her natural Fertility) we may almoſt account her pregnant of a Conqueſt: For, her Father Earl *Baldwin* of *Flanders* had then the *French* King in Tutelage: So as (no doubt) by her Mediation he drew

drew a great Concurrence from that Kingdome, and the adjacent Provinces. For theſe Reaſons He loved Her well: And I find his life little tainted with extravagant Luſt; for, his pleaſures were more of the Field, then of the Chamber. Yet, he had one Illegitimate Child (to keep it in faſhion) namely, *Pruerel*, Lord of *Nottingham* and *Derby*.

He left the Succeſſion to his ſecond Son, not becauſe he bare his Name (though that perhaps might have been ſome Motive:) nor becauſe he thought him the beſt timbred to ſupport it: But *Robert* his eldeſt, having openly Rebelled againſt him; and having (as they write) at a caſual Incounter given him his Life (which was too great a Gift to be either forgotten or acknowledged) he had reaſon to prefer the more obſequious Child. And I think, we ſhall need to ſeek no further.

As for *Henry* his third Son, albeit he was born after his Father was a King; and the two former were but the Iſſue of a Duke of *Normandy*; ſo as by ſome ancient Examples (if Examples could carry Diadems) he might, and perchance did expect the Crown; yet, He left Him (by our beſt Relations) but a bare Legacy of five thouſand pounds. Note the ſober meaſure of that Age, when it was a Kings younger Sons Portion, which is now ſcant an Aldermans: So much is either Wealth increaſed, or Moderation decayed.

But let me Conclude my Notes upon the Heroical Champion. He died not in his Acquiſitive, but in his Native Soil: Nature her ſelf as it were claiming a final Intereſt in his body, when Fortune had done with Him. But one thing fell out

to

to disquiet his Obsequies, That the Place where he should be laid, was put in Suit, as having formerly in the Time of his Power been wrested from the true Owner; which a while suspended his Interment, and became a Declamatory Theam among the Religious Men of that Age; That so Great A Conquerour of Forraign Lands should at length want Earth at Home to cover Him.

But it was the last of his worldly Felicities, that for the better Establishment of His Heir, he survived his own Victory twenty Years, eight Moneths, and sixteen dayes. For, *Tempus conquit omnia.*

HEN.

HENRICI *VI*i Angliæ & Galliarum Regis, Hiberniæ Domini, *Etonenſis* ad Tameſin Collegii Conditoris, *Vita* & *Exceſſus*.

Scriptore *HENRICO WOTTONIO* Anglo-Cantiano Ejuſdem Collegii Præfecto.

INter honeſtam requiem quam Etonenſe *Collegium Vergentibus jam Annis noſtris induiget, Subinde me invaſit hæc Cogitatio: Haud multùm diſtare ſilentes à Defunctis. Quippe, quid intereſt nos terminet fatalis Dies, an præſtinguat Inertia? Vade reputanti mecum quid aggrederer, non ingratum omnino videbatur præſentis otii prætium fore, ſi Regis* HENCICI *VI. Vitam (cujus benificâ Pietate fovemur) è ſanctioribus memoriis expromerem à primo fere vagitu ad extremum uſque Diem; quo innocentius quidem quàm felicius, Imperium clauſit. Quod ſi obſcuriora jampridem amplexus Studia Magnorum Nominum Gloriæ quæ ſub Calamum cadent minus ſatisfecerim. At interea quodcunque futurum ſit, pro diverticulo ſaltem valeat ad fallendam Canitiem quæ indies obrepit.*

Age ergo, revolvamus varios humanorum Caſuum Fluctus & Procellas. En mirum ſub Rege maximè omnium quietis avido, turbulentiſſimæ Scenæ *Spectaculum:*

Eóque

Eóque triſtiori exitu, quo blandioribus initiis, ut nulla Optimo Principi defuiſſe videatur, aut ludentis Fortunæ aut ſævientis, Calamitas. Sed in ipſo limine parcendum publico Mœrori. Paulisper indefleti jaceant tot fortium virorum, tot illuſtrium Familiarum Cineres. Ne, ut plerique Scribentium, pompoſo nimis gestu, conceptum opus pragravarem. Téque potius (Sereniſſime CAROLE *Rex & Domine) Juſti tenax, verique patiens, & cujus mores non minùs quàm leges cuncta temperant: Te; inquam, veterum ritu ante Exorſum compellare liceat, ut his conatibus benignâ fronte adeſſe velis, Dumpriorum jam longè temporum Ærumnas (quas divinum Numen ſopivit) liberiùs quàm facundè peragam.*

Lancaſtrii Stemmatis MAJESTAS *(quoquo modo parta) per duorum Dominantium virtutes pariter & ſucceſſus occœperat paulatim valeſcere. De* Henrici *Quarti primordiis jam circumquaque Silentium: Aut obtecta murmura comprimente (ut ſolet) Vulgi voces lato haſtenus domi foriſque Fortunæ afflatu. At neque Nobilium videbantur inquieta Conſilia, quorum ferocior Pars aperto Marte aut conjurationibus exhauſti, Molliori Tempori ſerviebant. Quin & quædam ſubſulſit futura ſecuritatis Fiducia. Quippe viginti jam trium Annorum dilapſu (tot enim à primi* Lancaſtrii *Imperio ad inſequentis Obitum interfluxerant) Wallia poſt* Owen Glendori *miſerrimos Impetus, ſub* Henrico *Quarto compoſita, Scotiaque Conſinio per* Henrici *Quinti Solertiam contra ſubitos incurſus ſatis provide munito; Si quid hîc forſan adhuc Turbidi, ſi quid Inſidi detegeretur, promptum erat aliorſum tranſfundere, & interna Suſpicionum in* Galliam *velut exantlare, Quo tum Tempeſtas incubuit.*

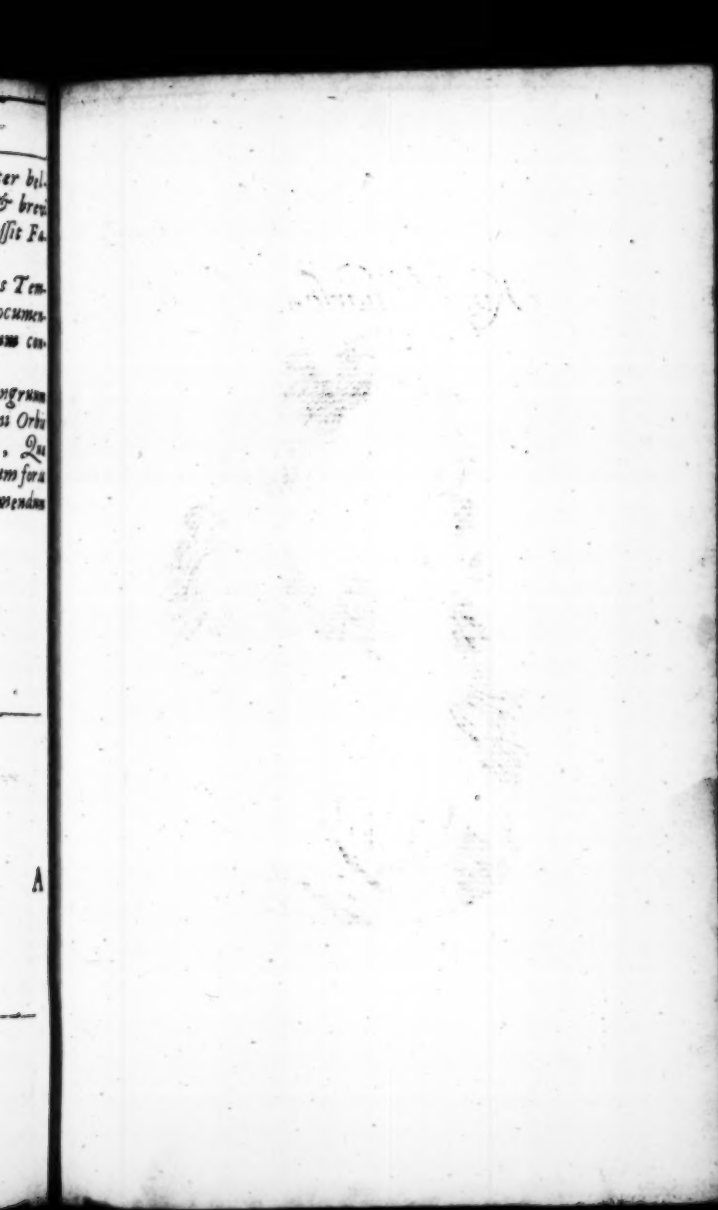
In hoc ſtatu Rerum Henricus *Quintus poſt Victoriam in* Gallos *ad Agenicuriam (omnis Ævi Memoriâ illuſtrem)*

luſtrem) *ingraveſcente Morbo, quem fortè inter bellandi Sudores contraxerat, ſit Saculi Fulmen, & brevi* (*proh nimium!*) *Ætate, Gloria Satur, conceſſit Fatis, relicto vix quadrimeſtri Filiolo.*

Hic eſt ille HENRICUS *Sextus, cujus Tempora in præſens meditamur, tot ſortis Humanæ Documentis inclyta, quot nulla uſquam Ætas in unum congeſſit.*

Sed antequam ulterius proceſſerim, non incongruum reor paucis aperire, Qualis tum eſſet Chriſtiani Orbis Facies, Quænam apud nos Externorum Motuum, Quæ Civilium Origo, Quantum Anglorum Arma tum foris obtinuerint, Quid intro ſperandum, Quidve timendum fuerit.

Deſunt cætera.



King Charles the : I

AD
REGEM
E
SCOTIA
REDUCEM
HENRICI WOTTONII
PLAUSUS ET VOTA.

M. DC. XXXIII.

UMI

CAROLINO CORNUBIÆ DUCI, CESTRIÆ COMITI, &c.

HENRICUS WOTTONIUS *Seros Dies.*

ELSITUDINI Tuæ, tenellæ adhuc Ætatis, insequentes PLAUSUS ET VOTA, Quæ PARENTEM Tuum, Optimum Regum é SCOTIA *Reducem excepêrunt, non inconsultè Dedico. Ut postquam Literis (Avito jam Decore) imbutus fueris, ex hac quantulacúnque Commentatiuncula Gazam hauries, Triplici* DIADEMATE *Splendidiorem: Nempe* HEREDITARIAM *VIRTUTIS IMAGINEM.*

AD

AD REGEM E SCOTIA REDUCEM

Henrici Wottonii PLAUSUS ET VOTA.

Auguſtiſſime *CAROLE* REX ET DOMINE.

ANtiquitùs mos erat apud humaniores Gentium, quoties Juſto Bonoq; Principe fruebantur, Ne muta fælicitas in pectoribus torperet, affectus & gaudia Præconiis, Votis, Plauſibus effundere; Præſertim ſi quæ Nobilior occaſio acclamantium Voces eliceret.

Cujus Ego tam ſancti moris æmulatione quâdam raptus, diſcuſſo circà præcordia frigore quod gravior jam ætas invexerat, ad celebrandum hanc Diem quâ Te nobis, Noſq; nobiſmetipſis reſtituis, flagranti fiduciâ accedo. Adeò enim propriâ dicendi Imbecillitate non deterreor, ut parùm abſit quin eò me magis idoneum æſtimem: Quippe, quid opus eſt Rhetorico apparatu? Cur anxiè nimis Verborum pondera expenderem? Sufficiet hodiè ſimpliciter gaudere. Sinceritas rudis ac impolita res eſt, quò incomptior eò alacrior: Et Facundia dum ornat, corrumpit lætitiam. At neque id metuo, ne hoc officium blandientis videatur, & quaſi ad Fortunæ Genua ambitioſæ projecti; quod ſanè indignum foret ingenuo pudore quem à Parentibus, Indignum beatâ Mentis requie quam ex honeſtis ſtudiis hauſi. Unica tamen, fateor, in ipſo limine Me circumcingit ſollicitudo: Nimirum, ne Verecundiam illam quâ Majeſtas Tua cæteras Virtutes ſuaviſſimè condire ſolet etiam veris laudibus offendam. Nam cùm ad alia omnia Fortiſſimus ſis quæ aut Corporis Robur, aut Conſtantiam Animi poſtulent; ſolùm vereor, ne hodiernos applauſus & Elogia, quò juſtiùs debentur, eò mollius feras.

Legimus *Germanicum* (At quantum Virum!) paulò antè Prælium in *Chattos*, ferinâ opertum pelle ne noſceretur, appropinquâſſe noctu militum Tabernaculis, ut conceptam de ſe Opinionem in tenebris ſubriperet: *Adeò propriæ plerumq; Laudes tenerrimè excipiunt qui maximè merentur.* Unde ſatis prævideo quàm neceſſarium ſit, ut ad ſacras tuas Aures Argumentis non ex levi Oratorum officinâ, ſed paulò ſeverioribus, aditum præmuniam. Dico igitur æquiſſimum eſſe ut neque pulchræ Principum, nec

nec deformes Vitæ, ignobili silentio premantur: Sed Boni Pravique eâdem scribendi quâ vivendi Libertate, Nec minore Veritatis quâm Majestatis Reverentiâ, ad posterorum notitiam juxtà transeant: Illi quidem, Ne subductis Virtutum Exemplis, Virtutes ipsæ paulatìm deficerent: Hi verò, ut soluti Legum vinculis, aliquo saltèm Annalium metu temperentur. Hoc ausim Tibi dicere, Præstantissime *Domine*, Et hoc ipsum quod ausim *Tibimet-ipsi* debeo; Qui Triginta-tres jam Annos Ità vixisti, Ità novem ferè regnâsti, ut Verum non timeas. Clarissima erat olìm, & æternùm Vivet Virginii Rufi ad Cluvium responsio; *Scis*, (inquit) *Virgini, Quæ Historiæ Fides debeatur: Proinde, si quid in Historiis meis legis aliter ac velles, Ignoscas rogo. Cui Virginius. Cluvi, ne tu ignoras ideò me fecisse Quod feci, ut esset vobis liberum Scribere quæ libuisset.* At hæc fuit Inclyti quidèm sed privati Hominis securitas. Quantò magis exultet hæc dies ob receptum Regem, de cujus Vitâ Moribusque apertissimè simul ac tutissimè loquamur. Quin & confidenter hoc adjiciam; Si prima *Architectrix NATURA* ipsa Pectus *Tuum* (ut Verbo *Vitruviano* utar) senestrâsset; Si omnium oculos non solùm intrà Secretiores Cubiculi parietes, sed ad intimos Cordis recessus admitteres, Nihil omninò aliud appareret quàm Splendor Boni, & Imperturbata Virtutum Serenitas. Quid dixi? Si admitteres? Ac si possent, Quos hìc Supremum *NUMEN* in Sublimi & Lucido posuit, ex Oculis eripi, Et *Vitæ* vel *Imperii* rationem quali prætensis Nubibus occulere. In hoc quidem Obscuritas & Ipsa solitudo est Majestate tectior. Putatne ille *Abissinorum* Imperator, quem ferunt quotannis semèl palàm conspici, eò minus notescere quid clanculùm fiat? Annon etiam

am hodiè ſcimus *Domitianum* olim in ſecreto Horario, quo ſe indies ſecluſit, nihil aliud quàm præacuto ſtilo *Muſcas* confixiſſe? Num *Tiberius* in Capreenſi ſeceſſu delituit? Cùm inter tot Vulnera & Laniatus Conſcientiæ (queîs tanquam Furiis agitabatur) multa quotidiè divulſæ Mentis Indicia erumperent? Non certè. Majeſtas Tua & ſui Temporis, & venturi Principes unicam ſolùm & ſaluberrimam ſe celandi Artem docuit, quod nihil celandum moliris. Sunt quædam Animalcula ingrato aſpectu velùt Noctuæ ac Veſpertiliones quæ Natura ad Lucis Odium damnavit: Nonnullos etiàm Potentium fuiſſe ſcio, Qui inter Imperii Arcana & pro magno Verſutiæ Myſterio habuere, è longinquo coli; Ac ſi Reverentia in Speluncis tantùm & Crypteriis, non in aprico habitaret. Unde hæc Regendi *Sophiſmata*? Paucis dicam ac liberè. Per obliquos tramites incedebant quia neſciverunt (breviſſimam Viam) eſſe *Bonos*. Tu autem non Subditorum lumina & acceſſus fugis: Non abdito gaudes: Non Te tuis ſubtrahis: Non rigido & obducto Vultu falſam Venerationem captas. Immò interdùm etiam ad Comitatem quandam deſcendere non gravaris dignitate illæſâ. Sic enim in limpidiſſimo ſinu tecum reputas, *Si non eſſet ſupra poteſtatem Noſtram latere poſſe, At eſſet infrà Bonitatem latere velle.* Quâ certè nihil demum eſt popularius: Quippe Bonos Reges Boni omnes apertè, ſed & improbiſſimi tacitè venerantur, Dùm Virtutis pulchritudo non ſecùs ac inſolitum aliquod Jubar vel nolentium oculos perſtringit. Quare cùm nuper in manus *TRANQUILLUM SUETONIUM* ſumpſiſſem (qui ipſa *Cæſarum* Viſcera denudavit) ad fallendam dum aberas, litterato aliquo diverticulo, ingratam dierum longitudinem:

& in

& in illum fortè locum incidiſſem, quo tam graphicè deſcribitur *Auguſti* ejulatus, in *Variană* Clade crebrò vociferantis, *REDDE MIHI, QUINTILI VARE, LEGIONES MEAS*; Illicò exardebat *Tui* Deſiderium, & vota pro reditu incaluêre. Multò enim tum juſtiùs viſum eſt, *Angliam* debuiſſe *SOROREM* ſuam anhelantibus ſuſpiriis laceſſere, quàm Auguſtum *QUINTILII* Manes: *Redde mihi, Scotia Sororem, Regem noſtrum: Redde Optimum Virorum: Quem nemo niſi malus non amat, nemo niſi ignarus non laudat. Redde Morum Rectorem, ſimul & Normam: Quò non ſolùm lætiores, ſed & Meliores ſimus, dùm propiùs contemplabimur (quod rariſſimum eſt) in ſummo Faſtigio minimæ Licentiæ Exemplar.* Cùm itaque Talis ſis, (*optime REX*) ſupplex, permittas, rogo, ſi precibus quàm Argumentis flecti malis, ut novem (Tot enim computo) diſcreti Sermonis Populi, quorum habenas moderaris, TE Talem eſſe glorientur. Idque prædicent non vernaculo ſolum cujuſque Idiomate (quod gaudiis quidem noſtris anguſtius foret) ſed communiori hâc qualitercunq; Linguâ, ut & Exteri ſciant, *BRITANNIAM Tuam*, quæ olim primum *Orbi Chriſtiano* & maximi nominis Imperatorem dedit, non adeò exaruiſſe quin & hodiè etiam laudatiſſimi *REGIS TYPUM* exhibeat.

Jam aliquantulùm præmollitâ, uti ſpero, ad audiendi patientiam viâ, dehinc juvabit quædam ex toto hactenus *Vitæ tuæ Morumque* habitu quaſi carptim delibare, eorum more qui Flores legunt. Etenim delectu magis rerum quàm ubertate geſtio: quanquam non ignarus, adeò profuſam fuiſſe Veterum in hoc Dicendi Genere aut Diligentiam aut Ambitionem, ut non inſcitè forſan *TIMÆUS*

VS dixerit, *ALEXANDRVM* Macedonem citiùs omnem *ASIAM* subegisse, quàm *ISOCRATES* Panegyricum scripsisset. Enimverò, Arti tunc nimis indultum videtur, dum in feraci Eloquentiæ sæculo lasciviebant Rhetorum Ingenia. At Me decet, Simplicitatis simul nostræ ac Senectutis memorem, Summa potiùs ex Encomiis Tuis attingere, quàm singula persequi; ut ipsa Orationis Brevitas velùt elabentium Annorum fugam imitetur. Cæterum Antè alia sese offert Eximia Ortus Tui Nobilitas: Quâ in longâ Antecedentium *REGVM* serie cunctis, ne ipso quidem *PARENTE* excepto, præluces. Id paucis clariùs deducam. Atavus Tuus *HENRICVS Septimus* (Fælicior an Fortior nescio) *Rubellum Albamque ROSAS*, duarum præpotentium Familiarum Insignia, per *ELIZABETHÆ EBORACENSIS Connubium*, Exul ferè simùl & Victor univit: quæ divulsæ Patriam tot annos infestis Odiis & Cruore polluerant.

Beatius Regnorum quàm Rosarum vinculum *Parentis Tui* Auspiciis debemus, vel ob id solùm non sine summâ Veneratione memorandi. At in *Te* unico (*Augustissime CAROLE*) omnium post Romanos, omnis Ævi Nationum, quæ *Britanniam* per Jus aut Arma possederunt, confluxit gloria. In *Te*, inquam, Unico; quem primum *CAMBRICI*, *ANGLO-SAXONICI*, *SCOTICI*, *NORMANNICI*, ac *DANICI* demùm, Germinis *SVRCVLVM* ex hactenùs Coronatis agnoscimus. In hoc fortassè, (si Comparationis Vilitas non spernatur) Celeberrimo *Europæ ISTRO* non ablimilem, quem per immensa spatia devolutum tot illustrium Alveorum Undæ nobilitant.

Scripsit

Scripsit inter noſtrates haud obſcurus Author, non priùs *Majores* noſtros legitimum in Angliâ *Normannorum* Imperium agnoviſſe, (quod tàm ægro initio laboraverat) Quàm *MATTHILDIS HENRICO* Primo enupta, Sobolem ex Antiquo *Saxonicorum Regum* Sanguine, in hanc lucem protuliſſet. Erat autem illa *DAVIDIS, ETHELREDI* Regis Abnepotis, ex progenitoribus *Tuis, SOROR*. Quantò nunc ſplendidior Cauſa *Majeſtatem Tuam* omnibus Ulnis ambiendi, qüi ex tàm multiplici Imperantium proſapiâ, ad *Nos* defluxiſti? Poſtquàm & *Cimbrici* Sanguinis Vetuſtiſſimi, Additamentum cæteris Decoribus acceſſit, ex *ANNA* Matre Virilis Animi *HEROINA*. Et quantò nunc veriùs repetamus, quod ſuperiori Ævo *Buchananus* fæliciſſimi poſt Antiquos Ingenii Vates, Aviæ Tuæ (utinam feliciore Fato!) cecinit

Miſſa per innumeros Sceptra tueris Avos.

Sed hæc quidem hactenùs vix *Tua* reputas: Ad propria tranſeo, quæ non minùs illuſtrant quàm illuſtrantur.

Tria animadvertimus, *Optime REX* (quâ appellatione iterùm libenter & ſæpiùs utar) in Primordiis Tuis ad inſequentes progreſſus haùd levis momenti, ut ferè ſemper incrementis inhæret Principiorum ſapor.

Primùm, Quod non in ſupremam Imperii Spem natus es. Unde Adulatio (quanquàm velox & Vigil Malum) quæ ipſa Summorum Hæredum Incunabula circumſtat, mollioribus Annis Tuis ſegniùs incubuit: Et propria interim Indoles, ſimpliciore hauſtu, generoſum Honeſti Succum imbibebat.

Nam

Nam certè in formandis & quasi (ut sic dicam) instillandis privati cujúsque, nedùm Principum, primæ vis propensionibus, Reipublicæ multùm interest: Cujus non solùm Fulcimina, sed & simulachra sunt futuri.

Alterum, quod *Fratri* successisti non modicis quidem Naturæ Dotibus. Unde *Parentum* exhinc solertior & contractior Sedulitas (curam enim excedebat) circà Unici Filii Ornatum. Quin & *Tui* ipsius erectiores indiès Spiritus, Cum Tanta jam Expectationis Onus in *Te* solùm recidisset. Tum admoti qui Ætatem illam nondum Negotiis aptam, Litteris fidelitér imbuerent: Tum accîti qui *Te*, paulatim crescente robore, Equestribus Exercitiis polirent. Quæ Memini quàm decorè dexteritate in primo Juventæ agitabas: Donec postea in frequenti Hastarum decursione, nescio plus spectantibus Gaudii, an Pavoris injiceres.

Tertiò in Mentem venit quod aliquandiù, quasi luctante Naturâ, Corporis Artubus paulò invalidior eras, & Vigori longè Impar quem nunc lætantes stupemus. Quod equidem secretioris Providentiæ Consilio contigisse autumem, quo intentior tùm esset Ingenii excolendi Cura; ut Hæredem Regis clàm futurum decuit; Quem omnium post multa Sæcula, Principum Sapientissimum, ne Maligni quidèm negant.

A primitiis Tuis ad robustiora propero, promissæ Brevitatis non oblitus.

Post Peregrinationem, variis Casibus obnoxiam, ad Coronam perveniſti: Unde constat quantum ipsemet tùm auderes, cùm Omnes Interim Domi, *Tui* causâ trepidarent. Sed Cœlestis Favor *Te* nobis Incolumem reduxit, & ne tinctum quidem

Exo-

Exoticis Coloribus : velut alterum *ULYSSEM*, cui satis erat (vel *HOMERO Teste*) cognoviſſe Mores Hominum & Urbes.

Adſumpto *Diademate*, emicuit antè alia Religioſus Animus, Regnorum Columen, Bonorum Gaudium. Sacellum Regium nunquàm ordinatius. Auctior indiès Inſignium Theologorum numerus. Conciones nullo unquàm Ævo frequentiores, nullo Doctiores : Et Exemplum Principis, Concionibus Validius. Nulla ex Ore execratio temerè prodiit. Ab omni paulò laſciviori, nedùm ſordido ſermone, Aures abhorrebant ; qui ſub *EDOARDO Quarto* fortaſſè, cùm Vagi Amores regnarent, pro *Aulicâ Elegantiâ* habebatur. Nec intrà Palatii parietes Pietas ſtetit ; ſed per Regnum diffuſa. Intacti Eccleſiæ reditus. Templorum hinc indè jacta Fundamenta : Collapſus paſſim reſtituti. Et quod præcipuè poſteri loquentur, Pientiſſimo *Tuo* Monitu excitatæ Regni Opes, ad reſtaurandam Ædem Apoſtolo Gentium Sacram, quæ paſſa erat Temporis injurias ; Omnium Orbis Chriſtiani (Quis dubitet ?) pari vetuſtate Ampliſſimam. Ubi effulſit Majeſtatis Tuæ cura, in demoliendis Privatorum Ædificiis, quæ tàm viſendi operis faciem dehoneſtabant : Nec minùs in adminiſtratione totius Negotii impoſita, Vigilantiſſimo Præſuli, qui ob ſpectatiſſimam Fidem & Judicium, nuperrimè altiora meruit.

Jam poſt Deum, Quàm tenero ergà Subditos affectu ? Cùm Contagio graſſaretur, Ad publica Jejunia, Juſſu *Tuo* recurſum. Cùm Inediæ majori Metu quàm Malo premeremur, Annonæ flagellatores aperire Horrea coacti, lenitis Frugum pretiis.

Inter has ſanctiores Curas non omiſerim, Providen-

dentiæ *Tuæ* peculiare Præconium ; cujus Origo paulò altiùs repetenda.

Enatæ ſunt foràs antè aliquot Annos, aut fortè ex antiquo recruduerunt, Controverſiæ quædam, circà ſublimes *Fidei Articulos*, quæ cùm ad nos quóque tranſvolâſſent, (ut facilè ſe diffundunt Ingeniorum Flammæ,) ne hîc etiam Pulpita & Calami, cùm Inquietudine publicâ incaleſcerent, *Majeſtas Tua* per *Edictum*, laudatiſſimâ temperie, omnem utrimque Diſceptationem compreſſit. Sentiant Alii quid velint ; Meo Arbitratu (ſi Verbo ſit venia) *Diſputandi Pruritus*, *eſt Eccleſiarum Scabies*. Referam quod mihi contigit obſervâſſe non ſemel. Duos nempe de *Re* quâpiam acerrimè diſceptantes, donec utroq; ex alio in aliud Contentionis æſtu abrepto, Ambo tandem primò *Charitatem*, deinde etiam Veritatem amiſerant. Quò procederet irrequietum Acumen, niſi premeretur? Nullus eſt finis Argutiarum. Sed maturè Obviám itum eſt.

His Pietatis Laudibus ſubjiciam Ingens Gratitudinis, Ingentius ferè Conſtantiæ documentum, erga *GEORGIUM VILLIERIUM BUCKINGHAMIÆ DUCEM*. Quem, cùm inter *Hiſpanici* Itineris Diſcrimina, lateri *Tuo* præcipuus comes adhæſiſſet, Domi poſteà per omnes utriuſque Fortunæ Scopulos, quaſi repenſâ vice, tutò circumtuliſti ; donec improviſum Diem clauſit. Vidimus etiam non leves Favoris *Tui* Radios in Alterum ex Fidis comitibus, & ſolertis Judicii Virum conjectos.

At hæc non ſolùm inter Argumenta Animi Fidelium Officiorum memoris (quod verè Regium eſt) recenſeo ; ſed & ſingularis ergà Parentem etiam defunctum Obſequii, cui *Buckinghamius* tot Annos

in

in delitiis fuerat: Ac ſi Majeſtas *Tua* ſeſe tàm Affectuum ejus, quàm Regnorum Hæredem reputâſſet: Raro inter Omnium Sæculorum memorias Exemplo. Erat ſanè Dux ille ob multa Amabilis, eademq; rariſſimè conjuncta. Singulis Corporis Artubus quaſi affabrè compoſitus: Forma tamen, an Venuſtas ſuperaret, incertum. Animo autem haud dubiè intrepido. Impoſitis, adſumptiſve Curis æquè intentus. Aderat, tot negotiis diſtricto, incredibilis Temperies & Æquabilitas. Appetitum Gloriæ haud negaverim, quem generoſi Spiritus tardiſſimè deponunt. At quod ſuper omnia ſuaviſſimum; nulla Morum auſteritas. Nihil in externo tumidi. Sed Obvius, Affabilis, & cuique ferè Expoſitus: Ac ſi in tantâ Fælicitate, vix Fælicitatem ſuam ſenſiſſet. Quo vel uno meritus videatur, ut mollius decumberet.

Pollêre poſt hæc incepit Principibus Majeſtatis Tuæ Curis, indiéſque pollet, quò probatior eò acceptior, Vir ſanè moderato vitæ Habitu, & graviſſimi Conſilii: ac tramiſſis Inanibus, ad ſolidam Prudentiam natus. Quem nominare Injurioſum foret: Nam qui ingenuè deſcribitur, ſine Nomine intelligatur.

At meritò Supremum in Affectus Imperium, ſibi ſoli vindicavit Digniſſima *Regalis Thalami CONSORS*, Ipſa etiam longo *Regum Stemmate* oriunda, Sed ſatis eſt dicere *MAGNI HENRICI FILIA*, ac *JUSTI LUDOVICI SOROR*. Quam, ob chariſſima jam utriuſque Sexus Pignora, ob Caſtiſſimæ Venuſtatis Decus (& quod Conjugale Vinculum maximè beat) ob congruos Mores, adeò Sanctè & unicè amas, ut meritò videaris ex Optimi *Patroni*, in Optimi *Conjugis* Titulum tranſiviſſe. Caſtimoniæ, Temperantiam adjunx-

isti, cognatam comitem: quas inter Impotentes & Miseros, quis non tacitus præteriret? Sed in Rege, sed in Juvene, tàm vegetæ Ætatis; & in tantâ ad omnes Appetitus explendos promptitudine, laudemus magis an mireniur, nescio.

Jam post hæc Elogia, quæ partim Amorem, partim etiam Stuporem conciliant; De Temporis Tui Justitiâ vel dubitare, injustissimum fuerit.

Non pigebit tamen paulò fusiùs repetere rem in obscuræ sortis *Homine*, illustrissimi Exempli. Contigit *Londini* nescio quis Tumultus, ob quendam ex Apparitorum manubus ereptum, qui alieno ære obstrictus in Carcerem ducebatur: ubi inter confusos Animorum motus unus aut alter (ut ferme fit) ex fortuitis vulneribus periêre: unde *Johannes Stamfordius* Quidam, Vir manu promptus (qui se his Turbis fataliter immiscuerat) pro Homicidii reo, in Vincula conjectus est. Non caruit apud *Majestatem Tuam* Intercessoribus magni Nominis; Et certissima jam effulgebat (ut in vulgus credebatur) impetrandæ Veniæ Spes, quia *Buckinghamiæ Duci* à Cubiculo fuerat, & inter suæ Conditionis Clientes, Hero aliquandiù gratissimus ob Eximium Corporis Robur & luctandi peritiam. Cujus tùm etiam recens adhùc Memoria: quod misellum fortassè Audaciorem fecerat. At neque superstitum Preces, neque Viri ipsius notissima Fortitudo, Nec denique tam dilecti nuper Capitis, cujus in Clientelâ fuerat, recordatio, apud *Majestatem Tuam* Justitiâ prævaluêre; Quin (magnum dictu:) Laqueo Vitam finiit.

Recentior est Memoria Supplicii, quod *Barpetvetustæ* Prosapiæ, palàm passus est ob Facinus Natalibus suis Indignum. Sed si vetus Ingeniosi Authoris Observatio adhùc valeat, *Quædam esse Clari-*

ora,

ra, quædam Majora; Equidem *Baronis* Clariùs Spectaculum, ſed *Stamfordii* Majùs crederem.

At quò me rapit, dùm Hæc Revolvo, non inſuavis quædam Meditatio? Habet *Majeſtas Tua* in ſtricti Juris Tribunalibus, Idoneos Judices: Qui rigidiùs pronunciant. Habet etiam conſultiſſimum Æqui Bonique Antiſtitem, Antiquis Prætoribus parem: Qui, pro Populi levamento, ſeveriora emollit. Sed Hi ſeorsùm, diſcretis Soliis locantur. Si quis fortè quærat, cur non ſimul, quod expeditiùs videatur? Dicam quod ſentio. Exoptabant *MAJORES* noſtri, ex graviſſimâ quidem Providentiâ, *Juſtitiam* ac *Lenitatem*, Quæ in Magiſtratu inferiori divulſæ ſedent, in ſolo *SUPREMI* Pectore Societas. Et ſanè ſic eſt. *Majeſtas Tua* velut ad Majorum deſiderium compoſita, Has adeò temperatè commiſcuit, ut neque Mali audeant, neque doleant Boni. Hactenus intelligi velim Me ſolùm de Communibus quaſi Flagitiis coercendis loquutum, quæ ubique Terrarum pullulant: Nam de Atrocioribus apud Nos (Divino Beneficio) Ne Verbum, Imò, Ne Somnium quidem. Laboramus excellenti Ignorantiâ. Neſcimus quid Perduellio, quid contrà ſalutem Publicam Machinator, quidve illud ſit, quod *Grammatici* Læſam Majeſtatem vocant. Cum Rebus ipſa Vocabula obſoluerunt. Nec mirum quidem. Quis enim, niſi omnium Mortalium Stupiditiſſimus idem & Sceleratiſſimus, parique prorſùs Vecordiâ ac Nequitiâ, tam Juſti Pitique *MODERATORIS* Quietem violaret?

Jam ut Juſtitiam (quàm Imperii *Tui* Sanitatem dixerim) æquiſſimo libramine tueris, hoc eſt, neque tenſis nimiùm, neque laxatis Nervis: Ità nec

omittis quæ ad Securitatem ſpectant. Idem enim alioquìn Imperiis, quod Corporibus noſtris, contingeret: Quæ periculoſè ſubſiſtunt, ubi ſolâ Valetudine, ſuſtinentur. Quarè poſt Bellum cum duobus ſimùl Potentiſſimis Regibus, Eventu (ut in Humanis fit) vario, per Nova utrimque Fœdera conſopitum; Princeps Domi Cura erat de maritimo Robore reſarciendo, ut Inſularium Regnorum *TUTOREM* decuit. Unde Claſſis Regia quotannis Auctior & Inſtructior: Ità, Commodiores Navibus Stationes dilectæ, & promptiore ad fortuitos Caſus exitu: *Majeſtate Tuâ* non ſolùm jubente, ſed & propriis Oculis ipſa loca ſubeunte: Ac ſi in re tanti momenti, vir alienis crederes. Deinde accuratior quàm unquàm anteà, Armorum luſtratio; & in univerſum exercitatior, ſtatis Temporibus, Militia.

Intèr hæc, Incivile eſſet ſilère quod Prudentes Temporum adnotârunt, *Majeſtatem Tuam* Conſultis (ut vocant) de Statu, frequentiùs intervenire, quàm ſuperiorum Quenquam *Regum*. Niſi fortè ad *EDOARDUM* Sextum oculos reflectamus, quem ferunt etiam Puerum raro abfuiſſe.

In illo *Conſilii Tui Cœtu*, *Supremi Præſules* Reverentiam, Ex utroque *Regno ſelecti Proceres* Dignitatem, adjungunt. Sunt quos exterarum Rerum uſus, Sunt quos Municipalium Legum Peritia, exornat. *Et Secretariorum* Erudita, Fideliſque Sagacitas accidentibus invigilat. Sed ſuper hæc, Ipſa *Domini* præſentia neſcio quid ſalutiferum ſpirat. Parùm eſt quod dixi, Præſentiam ſolùm. Imò ex iis qui Conſilia Tua participant (Non omninò, fateor, incurioſus, ignoſcas rogo) ſæpiùs accepi, quàm attentè quoties intereſſe libet, propoſi-

posita revolvis: Quàm patienter auscultas; Quàm acri Judicio singula quæque expendis; Quàm pertinax sis (non enim utar molliori voce) ubi Bono, Quàm Strenuus ubi Magno Animo opus sit. Denique in Secretioribus Negotiis, Quàm restrictam Taciturnitatem imponis, & Quàm severè exigis. In hoc quoque, Exemplo proprio præmonstrante quod jubes. Quippe præter alia, Duo quidem *Majestas Tua* beatissimo nexu copulavit: Nimirùm, *Nullus usquàm Principum, post Constituta Imperia, natus est Secreti tutior Custos; Et tamen cujus Secretum & Silentium minùs timemus.* Quod de Optimo Viro *Julio Agricolâ* dictum olim legimus, qui *Romanorum Primus*, *CALEDONIÆ Tuæ* limbum invasit. Quippe *Majestas Tua* non introrsùs & sinu fovet immansuetas & subdolas cogitationes; Non offensionis scintillis incubat donèc exæstuent: sed Celso & Nobilissimo Candore, si quæ concepta fuerint, recludis, & ut sic dicam, exhalas. Enimverò in nullâ, fateor, Virtutum suarum reverentiâ lubentiùs hæreo, quàm in hoc ipso Heroicæ Ingenuitatis Elogio. Nam ut summus *ALTISSIMI* Character Veritas est, Ita quid quàm in Terris imaginem *REFERENTES*, magis quàm ipsa Veracitas condecoret, aut magnificentiùs vestiat?

Vidimus Hactenus, erga Parentem obsequium; Amicos Constantiam; In Conjugio Fidem; In Juvendâ Republicâ non Regis sed Patris Affectum. Nec inter hæc, pro conditione Temporum & pervexo Rerum Statu, neglecta erga Sororem Unicam Optimi Fratris Officia, Quæ mihi semper visa est sola sui Sexus omnibus Malis Major, & ipsâ obscuritate Illustrior, & quidem *Intra Fortunæ Sortem & Extrà imperium Posita.* Quam quantùm ames,

Imò quantùm æstimes, ex nuperâ Legatione patuit; Cùm in gravissimo *Viduæ* Luctu, deferendo Solatio Primorem è Nobilibus, & priscis Ipsum Virtute ac Moribus Virum, ablegares: ut amantissimæ Legationi, ex ipso Legati Delectu, aliquid etiam Dignitatis accederet. Hoc de Solemine.

Quod ad Subsidium spectat, Nonne *Majestas Tua* ex Primoribus etiam *Scoticæ* Nobilitatis *MARCHIONI*, quanquàm hîc assiduis circa Teipsum & intimis officiis obstricto, probandæ Fortitudinis suæ Veniam indulsit? Per quæsitissimas Ambages, in tanto Viarum intercluſu, Per Maris Terræque Discrimina, Per loca Urbesque Peste & Inediâ obsitas: Ubi ferè difficilius erat penetrare, quàm vincere: ac durius Pati, quam Facere. Si post hæc Successus defuere; At non animosa Regis Voluntas, At non Subditorum Virtus, At non sumptus variis modis, At non Legationes interim Legationibus accumulatæ, de sedandâ, per æquas Conditiones & amicabilem Tractatum, Orbis Insaniâ De cætero vel *SOLONIS* monitu acquiescendum, *NEMO ANTE OBITUM GLORIETUR.*

Jam inter tot Curas, quibus vel Optimi Reges maximè premuntur, non injucundum fuerit, paulisper inquirere quàm eleganter intervalla Otii disponis. Nobilium Equorum usu gaudes; Quos nemo peritius aut manſuetos flectit, aut ferocientes domat. Adeò ut aptius an digniùs fecerit ambigerim, Qui nuper *Majestati Tuæ* Statuam Equestrem ex perenni Ære fundi curavit: *LISIPPI* vivax Opus.

Accedit Musica, quæ tàm Organica, quam Vocalis, sub Te indies, quàm antehac, modulatio-

Utpote ad Aurium Tuarum Judicium accommodata. Hanc ne mollior videretur, quasi Venatione temperas. Quâ, Belli Imagine, adeò animosos Spiritus exerces, ut difficile dictu sit, Venandi Voluptatem magis, an ipsum Laborem ames: aut utrùm de Prædâ Victoriam, an longam Prædæ Fugam malles.

Sed omnium Oblectationum *Tuarum* Splendidissima, est excellentium Operum & Artificum Amor: Queîs in utrâq; tàm Pingendi, quàm Sculpendi Arte, ita Palatia decorâsti; ut Magnificentia *Tua* videatur *Italiam*, maximam elegantium Artium Matrem, aut Saltem post *Græcos*, præcipuam Altricem, in *Angliam* transfudisse.

His Spectaculis quid amæniùs, imò ferè quid doctiùs, rogo, Quàm elinguem illam Umbrarum & Luminum Eloquentiam, ac tacitam Linearum Poësim, & quasi animata Marmora contemplari? Hìc *Tintoretti* quos designavit Artus & Musculos, moveri Spectator juraret. Hìc *Bassani* Volucres cantillant, mugiunt Boves, Pecora balant. Hìc *Raphaelis* Vultus spirant: *Titiani* etiam loquuntur. Hìc in *Correggiano* Politiem: In *Parmensi* Concinnitatem laudares. Nec *Belgicis* etiam suâ Laus deest. Qui si Campos depinxerint; omne Vigentium Genus viret, Flores rident, Montes eriguntur, Valles subsidunt. Eadem etiam in Statuis erudita Varietas: Quarum Hæ Membrorum vivacitate quâdam; Aliæ Mollitie gaudent. Sed hæc Oculorum delinimenta sunt. Ad Mentem reficiendam, Interdum librum aliquem Selectioris Argumenti, plerumque Homines legis: Optimè gnarus, quantum *PRINCIPI* expediat suorum nôsse Ingenia. Est & quando, veterum Epigrammata recensendo, Animum oblectas, non minori Acumine quàm componebantur.

Sic seria tua, sic remissiora cursim peragravi. At ipsa quam cepi in his quanquàm ita leviter delibandis Voluptas, Calamum jam currentem nescio quo modo novo Impetu exstimulat, ut *Majestatis Tuæ* veram Effigiem in Contractiori Modulo, & quasi sub uno simul intuitu (si tantum Veniæ indulseris) vel mihimet ipsi repræsentem, Quam sit Mente concipio.

Staturam dicerem Justæ proximam. Corpus erectum & Agile. Color in Universum ex *EBORACENSI Albore*, quàm *LANCASTRIA Rubedine* plus hausit. Cæsaries nigellæ quàm flavæ propior. Frons multum Fidei præfert: Oculos generosa quædam Verecundia honestat: non qualem olim de *Syllâ* sed de *Pompeio* legimus. In Gestubus nihil affectatum. In toto etiam Aspectu nil Turgidi, nil Efferati; sed alliciens ac decora Suavitas. Alacritatem & Vigorem celerior incessus prodit: Alioquin sedati Affectus & Compositi Mores. Propositi & Promissi tenacissimus. Amans Veri. Vitiorum Osor. Justus, Constans, Fortis: & non simplicitèr tantùm, sed scienter Bonus.

Talis es: Talemque quanto Applausu recipiemus? Videre Mihi videor, dum Horrida interdùm & Tranquilla simul contendo, quotiescúnque *RICHARDUS* ille *TERTIUS Eburi* forsan *suo*, aut longinquiùs *Londinum* remearet, & Proceres circa se conciret, Quàm nutabant Nobilium Capita, Quàm pallebant Ora, Quàm sollicitas inter se suspiciones ac murmura conferebant, Ac si dirus repentè Cometes, aut infaustum aliquod Sidus suprà Horizontem emersisset. Sed contrà, Justi Boniq; *PRINCIPIS* Reditus, nihil aliud omninò est quàm ipsa Solis Anastrophe, Cùm Ver-

Vernalibus radiis deformem Hiemem expellit, ac blando Tepore cuncta circumquâque refovet & exhilarat. Euge igitur *Rex* omnibus Bonis Gratissime. Sed in quæ Vota desinam? *Veteribus* in usu erat (quorum Exemplo percitus exiguum hunc laborem audacter nimiùm subivi) post *Trajani* Tempora sub Laudatissimo quoque Imperatore, hujuscemodi acclamandi Formula, *Vive ANTONINE, Regna THEODOSI, AUGUSTO* fælicior, *TRAJANO* Melior. Sit autem Hic Imperii *Tui* novissimus Character, quòd *Optanda sunt Landandis Pauciora.* Igitur postquam hoc tantum ex Ardenti Affectu voverim, ut *CAROLUS* Optimus *REX* & *DOMINUS* noster *Regnet Vivatq; Sibimetipsi soli Diuq; similis*, Finis esto

O Fortunatos nimium Bona si sua norint.

A

PANEGYRICK

TO

King *CHARLES*;

BEING

OBSERVATIONS

Upon the *Inclination*, *Life*, and *Government* of our Late *SOVERAIGN*.

VVritten in Latin,

By Sir *HENRY WOTTON* Knight,

(Provoſt of *Eton* Colledge) a little before his Death.

And now Engliſhed by a Friend of the Authors.

TO OUR

Young *CHARLES*,

DUKE of CORNWALL,

EARL of CHESTER, &c.

HENRY WOTTON wisheth long life.

THese following Vowes and Acclamations wherewith Your Father (the best of Kings) was received at his Return from Scotland) I dedicate not unadvisedly to Your Highness: that when you shall be seasoned with Erudition (now your Ornament from many Ancestors) you may draw from this (whatever) small memorial, a Treasure more glorious then a triple Diadem, namely, AN HEREDITARY IMAGE OF VERTUE.

TO

TO THE

KING,

At His Return from *SCOTLAND*;

Sir HENRY WOTTON'S *Vows* and *Acclamations*.

Imperial CHARLES, *my King and Master.*

A Custome it was anciently, among the civiller Nations, so oft as they enjoyed a just and a Gracious King, (that their mute felicity might not contract a dulness in their brests) to pour forth their affections and joyes in elogies, wishes, and applauses; But chiefly then, when any nobler occasion invited the rejoycers expressions. Which sacred customes Emulation in some sort, having transported me, and dispell'd the

the chilneſs from my breſt, which the weight of age hath introduced, I ſhall with flagrant confidence betake my ſelf to celebrate this Day, whereon your Majeſty doth reſtore your Self to us, and us unto our ſelves. So far indeed am I from being diſcouraged by the weakneſs of my own elocution, that I am even ready to eſteem my ſelf thereby the abler. For, what need is here of dreſſings Rhetorical? Wherefore over ſollicitouſly ballance the weight of words? Suffice it this day ſimply to rejoyce. Sincerity is a plain and impolite thing, the leſs trick'd, the more chearful; and Eloquence while it adorneth, corrupteth our gladneſs. Nor is it my fear, that this ſhall ſeem a flatterers act, (as it were) ambitiouſly proſtrate at Fortunes feet, which in truth were unworthy of that ingenuous modeſty, derived from my *Parents*, unbefitting that bleſſed Reſt of mind I drew from liberal Studies. Yet doth one ſolitude at the very entrance, I confeſs, ſurround me, leſt (namely) even with true *praiſes* I offend that modeſty, wherewith Your Majeſty uſeth ſo ſweetly to ſeaſon your other Vertues: for whereas you are moſt ſtout in all things elſe, that requires Validity of Body, or Conſtanneſs of Mind, I only doubt, leſt you ſhould bear this dayes Applauſes and Elogies, by ſo much the more tenderly, by how much they are the more juſtly due.

We read that *Germanicus* (and yet how great a Perſonage!) not long before the *battel* againſt the *Chatti*; did under the diſguiſe of a beaſts skin, (that he might not be obſerved) by night, approach his ſouldiers tents, to catch up by dark what they conceived of him. *So do thoſe commonly with moſt tenderneſs admit their own commendations, who moſt deſerve them.* Whence

Whence I sufficiently foresee the necessity of assuring my access to your *Sacred Ears*, not by Arguments drawn from the slight Magazines of Rhetorick, but by others of a soberer sort. I shall therefore affirm it most equitable, that neither the gallant, nor the baser lives of Princes be pressed down in ignoble silence. But that both good and bad be transmitted equally to the knowledge of Posterity, in a like freedome of writing, as living: and with no less reverence of Truth, then of Majesty. Those, least vertuous examples failing, Vertues themselves by degrees decay: These, that evading the power of Laws, yet may be bridled through some awe of Record. This to you, I may dare to speak (my most Gracious Master) and even that I may dare, I owe to your self alone, who now have so lived 33 years, and so reigned near to nine, That you dread not truth.

Most famous was of old, and will live for ever, that answer of *Virginius Rufus*, to *Cluvius*: *You know, Virginius* (saith he) *what credit is due to History: wherefore if you read any thing in my books, otherwise then you would have it, pardon me.* To whom *Virginius*, *Thou canst not* (Cluvius) *be ignorant of this, That therefore I did what I have done, that it might be free for you to write what you pleased.* This was indeed the confidence of a gallant, but yet of a private man.

How much more eminent may the joy be of this day, for a King returned, of whose Life and Morals we may speak both openly and safely. Yea, let me adde this with confidence, that if Nature her self (the first Architectress) had (to use an expression of *Vitruvius*) *windowed* your breast: if your Majesty should admit the eyes of all men, not

not only within the privateſt parts of your Bed-Chamber, but even into the inwardeſt cloſets of your heart: no other thing at all would there appear, ſave the ſplendor of your Goodneſs, and an undiſtemper'd ſerenity of your Vertues. What ſaid I? if you would admit? As if thoſe whom the Supreme Power hath ſet on high, and in the light, could be hid from our eyes? or cover, as it were by a drawn cloud, the wayes of their Lives and Government? Herein, no doubt, Obſcurity and Solitude it ſelf, is more vailed then Majeſty. Thinks that *Abiſſine* Emperor (whom men report to appear to publick view but once a year) that therefore it is leſs known what he doth in ſecret? Know we not at this day, that *Domitian* even in his cloſeſt Cabinet, wherein each day he ſhut up himſelf, did nothing but ſtick flyes with a pointed Bodkin? Lay *Tiberius* hid in his receſs to the Iſlands of *Capreæ*, when among ſo many wounds and tortures of his conſcience (which as ſo many furies tormented him) many tokens of a diſtracted mind did daily break forth? Surely no.

Your Majeſty hath taught the Princes of your own, and future times, the only and moſt wholſome way of ſelf-concealing, in that you indeavour nothing to be concealed. There are certain creatures of ingrateful aſpect, as *Bats* and *Owls*, condemn'd by nature to hate the light. I know alſo that ſome in power have alſo held it among the ſecrets of State, and as a great myſtery of craft, to be ſerved at a diſtance: as if reverence did only dwell in Dens, and Caves; not in the light. Whence then theſe Subtilties of Government? In a word, and freely; they walked in crooked paths, becauſe they knew not (the ſhorteſt way)

to

to be good. But, your Majeſty doth not ſhun the eyes and acceſs of your Subjects, delight not in covert; nor withdraw your ſelf from your own people: you do not catch at falſe veneration with a rigid and clouded countenance; yea, ſometime you vouchſafe to deſcend even to ſome familiarity without offence to your dignity: for thus you reaſon with your ſelf in the clearneſs of your own boſome; *If it were not above our power to lye concealed, yet were it below our goodneſs to deſire it*: then which nothing ſurely can be in effect more popular; for good Kings all good men openly revere, and even the worſt do it ſilently: Whileſt Vertues beauty, not unlike ſome brighteſt Rayes, ſtrikes into the moſt unwilling eyes. Wherefore as of late, I took in hand *Tranquillus Suetonius*, (who hath laid open the very bowels of the *Ceſars*) to beguile in the time of your abſence with ſome literate diverſion, the tedious length of thoſe dayes, and fell by chance upon that paſſage, ſo lively deſcribing the wailings of *Auguſtus*, after the *Varian* defect, often crying out, *Render me, Quintilius Varus, my Legions*; my deſires of Your Majeſty inſtantly flamed out, and my wiſhes g owed for your Return: for it ſeemeth then much juſter for *England* to have ſolicited her SISTER with theſe panting ſuſpirations, then *Auguſtus* the Ghoſt of *Quintilius*, *Reſtore to me, Scotland my Siſter, our King*; *Reſtore the beſt of men, whom none but the wicked love not; none but the ignorant praiſe not: Reſtore both the Director and Rule it ſelf of Morality, whereby we may become not the gladder only, but the better too, while at hand we may contemplate (a thing moſt rare) One in higheſt Place, not indulging to himſelf the leaſt exceſs.* Since therefore, ſuch you are (O beſt of Kings;) ſuffer I-

humbly pray, if rather by Prayers then Arguments you chooſe to be inclined, That the nine Nations of different Language (for I reckon them no fewer) over which you gently reign, may glory in your being ſuch: and may each declare it, not in their native Dialects alone (which would not give ſufficient compaſs to our joyes) but however, in this alſo more publick Tongue; That even forraigners may know your *Britany*, which formerly beſtowed upon the Chriſtian World their firſt and moſt renowned Emperor, is not become ſo barren yet as not to afford, even at this day, a Type of the higheſt-famed King.

Having now thus (I hope) ſomewhat ſmooth'd the way to your patience, in hearing: good it will be henceforth out of the whole ſtate of your Life and Carriage thus far, ſummarily to pick up ſome particulars, as thoſe do who make their choice of Flowers. For I pleaſe my ſelf more in the choice, then in the plenty of my Matter. Although I am not ignorant neither, that in this kind of ſpeaking, the diligence, or ambition of the Ancients was ſo profuſe, that perhaps *Timeus* ſaid not unwittily, That *Alexander* the *Macedonian* ſooner ſubdued all *Aſia*, then *Iſocrates* did write his *Panegyrick*. Certainly, there ſeems then to have been too great an indulgence to Art, while the Wits of Orators were wanton in that fertile age of Eloquence: but it becometh me (mindful both of my ſimplicity and age) to touch rather the heads of your praiſes, then to proſecute them all; that even the ſuccinctneſs of my ſpeech, may as it were, reſemble the paſſage of my fleeting years. In the firſt place is offered the eminent Nobleneſs of your Extraction: whereby in a long Order of antece-

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dent Kings, your luſtre is above them all, your Father himſelf not excepted. This in brief I will deduce more clearly: Your Great Great-Grandfather *Henry* the Seventh, (whether more valiant, or fortunate, I know not) being almoſt at once an Exile, and a Conqueror, united by the Marriage of *Elizabeth* of *York*, the white Roſe, and the red, the Armories of two very powerful Families, which being in diviſion, had ſo many years polluted their own Countrey with bloud and deadly Feuds. The more bleſſed Colligation of the Kingdomes, then that of the Roſes, we owe to the Happineſs of your Father, who even for that alone were to be remembred ever with higheſt veneration. But, in you ſingly (moſt Imperial *Charles*) is the conflux of the glory of all Nations, in all Ages, which ſince the *Romans* have poſſeſſed *Britain*, either by right, or by Arms; in you, I ſay, alone: whom the *Cambrians* firſt, the *Engliſh-Saxons*, *Scots*, *Normans*, and finally the *Danes* do acknowledge with us, to be the branch of that Stock that hitherto hath worn the Crown. In this perchance (if the meanneſs of the compariſon be not rejected) not unlike to *Europes* famous *Iſter*, which rolling along through vaſt Countreys, is ennobled with the waters of ſo many famous ſtreams. One not obſcure among our Authors, hath written, that our Anceſtors would not acknowledge the *Norman* Rule in *England* for legitimate (which had ſo weak a beginning) until *Maud* marrying with *Henry* the Firſt, had brought into the world a child of the bloud of the ancient *Saxon* Kings: ſhe was Siſter to *David*, Nephew twice removed off King *Ethelred*, your Progenitor.

How much is there now a nobler cauſe for our

imbracing your Majesty with open arms, who are descended unto us from so plentiful a Race of Kings, since the access of the most ancient *Cambrian* Blond to the rest of your Nobility, by Queen *ANNE* your Mother, a Lady of a great and masculine Mind? And how much the more truly may we now repeat, that which in the former Age *Buchanan* (a Poet, next the Ancients, of most happy invention) sang to your Grand-mother, I wish with happier fate!

From numberless Progenitors you hold
Transmitted Scepters, which they sway'd of old.

But all these hitherto you scarcely account your own. I pass then to such as are your own peculiar, which conferre no less of lustre, then they admit.

Three particulars we observe (O best of Kings,) which Appellation I now again willingly, (and shall often use) in your Beginnings, of no small importance to your succeeding Progress; as for the most part the first favour of Principles, continues in the after-growths.

First, That you were not born to the supream hope of Soveraignty, so as flattery (though an evil swift and watchful) which attends the Cradles of Potent Heirs, more gently prest on your tender years. And the whiles your native goodness drank in with a draught more uncompounded the generous liquor of Integrity; for no doubt, how the earliest dispositions of private persons (much more of Princes) be at first formed, and as it were instilled, that I may so speak, is of highest importance to the Commonwealth; whereof they are

are to become afterwards not only the Props, but alſo the Precedents.

Next, That you ſucceeded a Brother of no ſmall Natural Endowments, which begat thence-forward in your Parents a more induſtrious and cloſer ſedulity (for it ſurpaſſeth care) for the accompliſhment of their only Son: Nay, your own ſpirits daily grew the more intent, when now the weight of ſo vaſt an expectation was lodged on your ſelf alone. Then were advanced to you ſuch who faithfully inſtructed in learning that youth of yours, as yet unapt for buſineſs. Then ſuch were ſent for, who as your ſtrength increaſed, dreſſed you in the exerciſes of the Horſe; which I call to mind with how graceful a dexterity you managed: until afterwards at a ſolemn Tilting, I became uncertain whether you ſtrook into the beholders more Joy or Apprehenſion.

In the third place, It comes to mind, that for ſome time, while Nature was as it were in ſtrugling, you were ſomewhat weak of limbs, and far below that vigour, which now with gladneſs we admire: which I may judge to have befallen by the ſecret Councel of Providence, thereby at that time to render more intenſe the care of furniſhing your mind, as became the Heir, then ſecretly deſigned of a King; whom Malignants themſelves deny not to have been the wiſeſt of all Princes from many Ages paſt. From your firſt Eſſaies I ſhall haſten to your ſtronger times, not unmindful of my promiſed buſineſs.

After your forraign Travels, obnoxious to many hazards, you came unto the Crown, whence it appeared, how much your ſelf then dared to adventure, when the while at home each one was

trembling for your ſake. But the favour of Heaven brought you back ſafely to us; not ſo much as coloured with out-landiſh Dye; not unlike another *Ulyſſes*, who accounted it ſufficient (even by *Homer's* witneſs) *To have known the Morals of Men and Cities.*

When you had aſſum'd the Crown, before all other things, there was reſplendent in you a Religious mind: the Support of Kingdomes: the Joy of good men. The Chappel Royal was never more in order. The number of eminent Divines daily increaſed. Sermons in no age more frequented; In none more learned; And the example of the Prince more effectual then the Sermons. No execrations raſhly proceeded from your mouth. Your ears abhorring, not only any wanton, but even the leaſt ſordid word: which perchance under *Edward* the 4th, while toyiſh Loves did raign, paſſed for Courtly eloquence; Neither ſtopped this piety within the Walls of Court, but was diffuſed alſo through the Kingdome.

The Church Revenues were not touched; Temples here and there new founded; Dilapidations repaired; And, (which Poſterity will chiefly ſpeak of) the Riches of your Kingdome, excited by your moſt religious exhortation, for reſtauration of the Church conſecrated to the Apoſtle of the Nations, (out of queſtion the ampleſt and equally ancient of the Chriſtian world) which had ſuſtained the injuries of time. Where your Majeſties care was greatly conſpicuous in demoliſhing thoſe private dwellings which diſgraced the aſpect of ſo goodly a Fabrick: And not leſs in impoſing the management of that whole buſineſs upon that moſt

moſt vigilant Prelate, who for his ſingular fidelity and judgement, hath lately merited far higher place.

Now (next to God) how tender was your affection to your People? When the Sickneſs raged, by your Command recourſe was had to publick Faſtings. When we were preſſed with greater fear then evil of Famine, the Horders of Proviſions were conſtrained to open their Garners, and the prices of grain abated. Among theſe moſt pious cares, I cannot omit one peculiar Elogy, proper to your own providence, whereof I muſt repeat the Original a little higher.

There were hatched abroad ſome years agone, or perhaps raked up out of Antiquity, certain Controverſies about high points of the Creed, which having likewiſe flown over to us, (as flames of Wit are eaſily diffuſed) leſt hereabout alſo both Pulpits and Pens might run to heat and publick diſturbance: Your Majeſty with moſt laudable temper by Proclamation ſuppreſſed on both ſides all manner of debates. Others may think what pleaſeth them; In my opinion (if I may have pardon for the phraſe) *The Itch of diſputing, will prove the Scab of Churches.* I ſhall relate what I have chanced more then once to obſerve. Two (namely) arguing about ſome ſubject ſo eagerly, till either of them tranſported by heat of contention, from one thing to another, they both at length had loſt firſt their Charity, and then alſo the Truth. Whither would reſtleſs ſubtilty proceed, if it were not bounded: there is of captiouſneſs no end: but ſeaſonable proviſion was made againſt it.

To theſe praiſes of Piety, I will adde a very

great evidence of Gratitude: and almost a greater of Constancy, towards *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*: him, when amidst the dangers of the *Spanish* journey, he had been the neerest of your attendants, your Majesty afterwards, as in requital, bore safely with you at home, through all the rocks of either Fortune, till an unforeseen day was his conclusion.

We observed also no ordinary beams of your Favour to be cast upon another of your trusty Associates in the same Journey, a Person of approved Judgement, Neither do I recount these only among the arguments of an heart mindful of faithful Offices (which indeed is Kingly) but likewise of singular obsequiousness towards your Father, even when deceased; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* had been for many years a Favourite: as if Your Majesty had reputed your self as much the Heir of his Affections, as you were of his Kingdomes; An Example rare among the Memorials of all Ages. This Duke was indeed amiable in many respects, which seldome are concurrent. Each limb of his body almost very exactly composed: yet doubtful it was, whether his shape, or gracefulness excelled: undubitably of an undaunted spirit; equally intent upon his cares, whether imposed, or assumed: There was present with him in the midst of so many distractions an incredible temper and equability. I will not deny his appetite of glory, which generous minds do ever lateest part from; but, above all, the most pleating was, That he had no austerity of behaviour, nothing outwardly tumerous: but was obvious, affable, and almost to all men free and open: as if in so high a felicity, he had scarce been sensible of his hap-

happineſs: for which alone he may ſeem to have deſerved a more gentle end.

Hence forward there began to be powerful, and ſo daily holds on in your Majeſties moſt important cares, a perſon unqueſtionably of an habitual moderate life, and ſober counſel: and the oftner tryed, the more acceptable; not ſway'd to vanity, born to a ſolid prudence, whom to name might be injurious: for he that is deſcribed ingenuouſly, may be known without a name.

But the higheſt Empire over your affections, is deſervedly challenged alone by the moſt worthy Conſort of your Royal Bed, Her ſelf likewiſe proceeding from a long deſcent of Kings. But ſufficient it is to know ſhe is THE DAUGHTER OF *HENRY* THE GREAT, AND THE SISTER OF *LEWIS* THE JUST; Whom, for deareſt pledges already of either Sex; for the comelineſs of chaſteſt graces, and (which chiefly bleſſeth the nuptial bed) For congruity of diſpoſitions, Your Majeſty ſo religiouſly and ſo particularly doth love, that juſtly you appear to have paſſed from the Title of the beſt Patron to that of the beſt Husband.

To Chaſtity, you have added Temperance, her neareſt Companion: which in miſerable and impotent men, who would not paſs by with ſilence? but theſe in a King! in one ſo young! of ſuch vigorous age! and in ſuch a promptneſs of ſatisfying all deſires, I know not whether we ſhould more commend or admire them. Now, after theſe Elogies (which in part beget affection, in part alſo aſtoniſhment) to doubt once of the juſtneſs of your times, were moſt unjuſt. Yet ſhall I not think amiſs to repeat a little at large, a thing of noble

noble example, in a perſon of obſcure condition. There fell out at *London*, I know not what tumult, for one reſcued from the Serjeants hands, whom for debt they were leading to Priſon. Amidſt thoſe confuſions, one or other (as oft it chances) died of ſudden hurts; whereupon one *John Stamford*, a man of a ready hand (who had fatally run into the broyl) was apprehended as guilty of murther: He wanted not interceſſors of great power about your Majeſty; and there ſeemed an aſſured hope of obtaining his pardon (as the vulgar believed) becauſe he had attended on the Duke of *Buckingham* in his Chamber, and among the followers of his own condition, had been for ſome time very acceptable to his Lord, for his ſingular ability of body, and skil in wreſtling, whereof the remembrance as then was freſh, which perchance had made the poor man the more audacious. But neither the interceſſions of the living, nor the mans own well known valour, nor finally the remembrance of ſuch a Favourite but lately dead, whom he had ſerved, could prevail with Your Majeſty above Juſtice, but that (which is glorious to ſpeak) he concluded his life at the Gallowes. Freſher is the remembrance of that Noblemans Death, a Baron of very ancient linage, who ſuffered publickly for a fact, unworthy of his Birth. But, if a witty Authors old obſervation may yet have place, *that ſome examples are nobler, others greater*, I ſhould verily believe the Barons Nobler, but *Stamfords* Greater.

But whither doth this pleaſant meditation tranſport me, while I revolve theſe things? At Common-Law Your Majeſty hath in the Courts of ſtrict Juſtice, able Judges, which pronounce ſeverely: you

you have also a most learned Chancellour for right and equity (not inferiour to the ancient Pretors) who, for the peoples relief, qualifieth that severity; But these are in distinct Courts placed apart. And if one should ask by chance, Why not together, since that might seem the more dispatching way? I will deliver my opinion: It was the Wish of our Ancestors (out of a most grave providence) that Justice and Lenity, which have their seat disjoyned in the inferiour Magistrate, might be consociated in the only brest of the Soveraign. And truly so it is; for your Majesty being composed as it were, according to the wishes of those our Fore-Fathers, hath so tempered these together, that neither the evil presume, nor the good repine. Hitherto I would be understood to have only spoken of the restraint of common vices, which swarm in all parts of the world; for of more hainous transgressions among our selves (by Gods goodness) we have not a word, no not so much as a dream: we suffer under an excellent ignorance: we know not what a Rebel is; what a plotter against the Common-weal: nor what that is, which Grammarians call *Treason:* the names themselves are antiquated with the things: and (in truth) no marvel; for, what wretch (unless he were of all mortal men the most stupid and wicked, and as foolish as malicious) would violate the quiet of so just and pious a Moderator?

Now as you maintain your Justice, (which I may call the health of your Kingdome) in a most even ballance, that is neither too much strething, nor slackning the Reins; so neither do you omit what concerneth security; The like else would befal Empires that happens to our bodies, which sub

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sist dangerously, if nothing but meer health sustain them. Wherefore after a War with two mighty Kings together, with various event (as it chances in humane affairs) and quieted by new Confederations on either side; your principal care at home was to repair the Maritime strength, as became the Defender of Insular Kingdomes. Hence was the Navy Royal yearly more increased and furnished; and more commodious Harbours chosen for the Ships, and of readier issue upon sudden occasion; Your Majesty not only commanding, but with your own eyes surveying the places, as if in a matter of that moment you might scarce trust another mans: Then a more exact view of Arms then formerly had been used, and generally the *Militia* at set times much better trained.

Amidst these things, it were unhandsome to pass by with silence that which the prudent of the time have noted; namely, that Your Majesty is more frequent at the Councels of State (as we call them) then any of our former Kings, except happily we cast back our eyes upon *Edward* the Sixth, whom they say, even in his Child hood, to have been seldome absent.

In that assembly of your Councel, the chief Prelates adde reverence, the Nobles chosen out of both Kingdomes dignity.

Some are there, whom forraign experience, some whom the knowledge of our Laws adorns: and the learned and faithful Sagacity of your Secretaries watched over all accidents; but above these, the presence it self of the Soveraign breaths alwayes, I know not what of happiness. Your presence only, have I said? That is little; yea, of those who participate in your Counsels, have I many

many times heard (not uninquisitive, I acknowledge, for which pardon me, I beseech you) how attentively (as often you are pleased to be present) you revolve things propounded; how patiently you hear, with how sharp judgement you ponder the particulars; how stiff you are (for I will use no milder word) in good resolutions, and how stout in great.

Finally, in secret affairs, what a close secrecy you command, and how severely you exact an account thereof; in this also, your own example leading your Commandement. For besides other, there are two things which Your Majesty hath most blessedly bound together; namely, *There was never Prince since the Constitution of Empires, a safer preserver of a secret, and yet none whose secrecy and silence we less may fear*; which we read anciently noted of that excellent man *Julius Agricola*, who was the first Roman that invaded the skirts of your *Caledonia*: for Your Majesty doth not nourish secretly in your bosome fierce and crafty thoughts, nor cover the embers of offence till they break forth into heat; but out of a high and most Noble Candor, if any chance to be conceived, Your Majesty vents them, and (as I may say) exhales them. Truly I confess, I do not more willingly insist in the reverence of any of your Vertues, then in this very attribute of your heroical ingenuity: for as the supreme Character of the MOST HIGH is Verity: so what can more become or more magnificently deck his REPRESENTANTS on earth, then Veracity it self?

Hitherto we have observed your obsequiousness towards your Parents, constancy towards your Friends, fidelity towards your Consort, and towards

wards cherishing of the Commonwealth, not only the affection of a King, but of a Father. Neither amidst these (as the condition of the times, and the perplexed state of things would bear) did you neglect the offices of an excellent Brother towards your only Sister, whom I have alwayes thought the only Person of her Sex, *greater then all trouble*, and even by her obscurity the more resplendent: indeed, placed *within the chances* of Fortune, but *out of her command*: Whom how much Your Majesty loves, nay, how much you esteem, did appear by a late Ambassage, when in the depth of her Widow mournings, your Majesty, to carry her consolations, sent the chief of your Nobility, and him a Personage of most ancient vertue and behaviour; that to a most affectionate Legation, some addition might be made of Dignity, from the choicest self of the Ambassador. *This of Consolation.*

Concerning her *Support*: did not Your Majesty give leave to a Marquess of the chief Nobility in *Scotland*, though tyed here to your Person by near and assiduous Attendance, to exercise his valour abroad? through intricacies most studied, in such a stop of passages; through hazards by Sea and Land; through Places and Towns beset with Plague and Famine: where it was almost easier to conquer, then to get entrance, and harder to suffer, then to act? If after this, Success was wanting, yet was not the generous affection of a King; not the valour of his Subjects, not expences of divers kinds; not Legations (the while) upon Legations, to appease (if it were possible) by equal conditions, and by friendly Treaty, the frenzy of the time: for the rest, we must repose our selves in *Solon's* advice, *Let no man glory before his End.*

Now

Now amongſt ſo many cares (wherewith even the beſt of Kings are chiefly oppreſt) it will not be unpleaſant to enquire a little, how elegantly Your Majeſty doth diſpoſe your vacant hours.

You delight in the uſe of the great Horſe, whom already dreſſed, no man doth more skilfully manage; or better break, if rough and furious: Inſomuch, as I doubt whether it were more aptly or deſervedly done of him, who hath lately erected an *Equeſtrian Statue* to Your Majeſty of ſolid braſs, the lively work of *Liſierius*.

To this I muſt adde Muſick, both inſtrumental and vocal, which under you grows every day more harmonious and accurate, as being fitted to the judgement of your ear. This (leſt it ſhould ſeem too tender a delight) you temper as it were with hunting. In which Image of War you do ſo exerciſe your vigorous ſpirits, that it is hard to ſay, whether you love the pleaſure more, or the labour; or whether you had rather wiſh the killing, or the long ſtanding of the Game.

But the moſt ſplendid of all your entertainments, is your love of excellent Artificers, and Works: wherewith in either Art both of Picture and Sculpture you have ſo adorned your Palaces, that *Italy* (the greateſt Mother of Elegant Arts) or at leaſt (next the *Grecians*) the principal Nurſery may ſeem by your magnificence to be tranſlated into *England*.

What can be more delightful then thoſe ſights? nay I am ready to ask, what more learned then to behold the tongueleſs eloquence of lights and ſhadows, and the ſilent poeſie of lines, and (as it were) living Marbles? Here would the ſpectator ſwear the limbs and muſcles deſign'd by *Tintoret* to move;

move; there the birds of *Baſſano* to chirp, the oxen bellow, and the ſheep to bleat: Here the faces of *Rafael* to breathe, and thoſe of *Titian* even to ſpeak: there a man would commend in *Correggio* delicateneſs, in *Parmeſano* concinnity. Neither do the *Belgians* want their praiſe; who if they paint Landskips, all kind of vegetables ſeem in their verdure, the flowers do ſmile, the hills are raiſed, the valleys in depreſſion: In your Statuary vvorks the like learned variety; of vvhich ſome glory in a kind of vivacity, ſome in tenderneſs of parts; but thoſe are the entertainment of your eye. Now to recreate your mind, ſometimes a Book of choiſeſt ſubject: but oftneſt, Men you read, knowing full vvell how much it doth import a Prince to underſtand the conditions of his people. There are times alſo vvhen you refreſh your thoughts in the rehearſal of ſome ancient Epigrams, with no leſs acuteneſs then they vvere compoſed.

Thus have I curſorily run over your ſerious times, and your remiſſions: but the very pleaſure I have taken in paſſing through theſe, though but very lightly, doth (I know not how) infuſe into my pen now in motion, a new ſpirit, to repreſent (vvith Your Majeſties leave) though it be but to my ſelf, your true pourtraiture in little, and (as it vvere) in one ſhort view together, vvhich I thus conceive in my fancy.

I may ſay your ſtature is next a juſt proportion; your body erect and active; your colour or complexion hath generally drawn more from the vvhite Roſe of *York*, then the red of *Lancaſter*; your hair nearer brown then yellow; your brow proclaimeth much fidelity; a certain verecundious generoſity graceth your eyes, not ſuch as vve read of *Sylla*,

Sylla, but of *Pompey*; in your geſtures nothing of affectation; in your vvhole aſpect no ſwelling, nothing boyſterous, but an alluring and vvell becoming ſuavity: your alacrity and vigour, the celerity of your motions diſcovers; otherwiſe your affections are temperate, and demeanour vvell ſetled; moſt firm to your purpoſes and promiſes. Loving Truth, hating Vice; Juſt, Conſtant, Couragious, and not ſimply ſo, but knowingly Good.

Such you are; and being ſuch; vvith vvhat applauſe ſhall vve receive you! Me thinks I ſee, vvhen ſometimes I compare together horrid and quiet Times, as often as *Rich.* the Third return'd, perchance from his *York*, or further off, to *London*, and aſſembled his Peers about him; how the heads of Noblemen did hang! how pale their cheeks! vvhat ſolicitous ſuſpicions and murmurs they conferred together; as if ſuddenly ſome diſmal Comet or inauſpicious Star had riſen above the Horizon! But contrariwiſe, the return of a juſt, and a good Prince, is in truth nothing elſe but the very approach of the Sun, vvhen vvith his vernal beams he doth expel the deformed Winter, and vvith a gentle heat doth comfort and exhilarate all things about us.

Live therefore, O King, to all that are good, moſt grateful. But in vvhat vviſhes ſhall I end? After *Trajans* times there vvas among the ancients (vvith vvhoſe example ſmitten, I have too boldly undertaken this ſmall labour) under every renowned Emperour a form of acclamation in this kind, *Long maiſt thou live*, Antoninus; *Long maiſt thou reign*, Theodoſius; *happier then* Auguſtus, better then *Trajan*: but let this be the concluding

Character of Your Majesties time; *That the things we can wish, are fewer then those we praise.*

Wherefore, vvhen I have out of an ardent zeal only vvished this, that *Charles* our excellent King and Master may reign and live like himself alone, and long;

Be this the Conclusion,

In what transcendent happiness were we,
If know we would how fortunate we be!

OF

Robert Deuereux Earle of Essex
W. Dolle F.

OF
ROBERT DEVEREUX,
Earl of *ESSEX;*
AND
GEORGE VILLIARS,
Duke of *BUCKINGHAM:*

Some Obſervations by way of PARALLEL, *in the time of their eſtates of Favour.*

AMongſt thoſe Hiſtorical Imployments, vvhereunto I have devoted my later years, (for I read, that old men live more by memory then by hope) vve thought it vvould be a little time not ill ſpent, to confer the Fortunes and the Natures of theſe two great Perſonages of ſo late knowledge. Wherein I intend to do them right vvith the truth thereof, and my ſelf vvith the freedome.

The beginning of the Earl of *Essex* I must attribute vvholly or in great part to my Lord of *Leicester*; but yet as an Introducer, or supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I go along, it vvill easily appear, that he neither lived nor died by his discipline. Alwayes certain it is, that he drew him first into the fatal Circle from a kind of resolved privateness at his house at *Lampsie*, in *South-wales*; vvhere, after the Academical life, he had taken such a taste of the Rural, as I have heard him say, (and not upon any flashes or fumes of Melancholly, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood) that he could vvell have bent his mind to a retired course. About which time, the said Earl of *Leicester* bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the Queens favour; vvhich vvas diversly interpreted by such as thought that great Artizan of Court to do nothing by chance, nor much by affection. Some therefore vvere of opinion, that feeling more and more in himself the vveight of time, and being almost tyred (if there be a satiety in Power) vvith that assiduous attendance, and intensive circumspection vvhich a long indulgent fortune did require, he vvas grown not unwilling, for his own ease, to bestow handsomly upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same ends brought in, or let in Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and having found him such an apprentice as knew vvell enough how to set up for himself, he now meant to allie him vvith this young Earl, vvho had yet taken no strong impressions. For though the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* vvas a little before this, vvhereof I now speak by occasion, much fallen

fallen from his former ſplendour in Court: yet he ſtill continued in ſome luſtre of a favoured man, like billowes that ſink by degrees, even vvhen the vvind is down that firſt ſtirred them.

Thus runs the diſcourſe of that time at pleaſure. Yet I am not ignorant, that there vvas ſome good vvhile a very ſtiff averſation in my Lord of *Eſſex* from applying himſelf to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, for vvhat ſecret conceit I know not; but howſoever, that humour vvas mollified by time; and by his Mother; and to the Court he came under his lee.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had another kind of Germination; and ſurely had he been a Plant, he vvould have been reckoned among the *Sponte naſcentes*, for he ſprung vvithout any help, by a kind of congenial compoſure (as vve may term it) to the likeneſs of our late Soveraign and Maſter of ever bleſſed memory; vvho taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to pleaſe himſelf, and moulded him, (as it vvere) Platonically, to his own *Idea*; delighting firſt in the choice of the Materials, becauſe he found him ſuſceptible of good form; and afterward by degrees, as great Architects uſe to do, in the vvorkmanſhip of his Regal hand: nor ſtaying here, after he had hardned and poliſhed him about ten years in the School of obſervance, (for ſo a Court is) and in the furnace of tryal about himſelf, (for he vvas a King could peruſe men as vvell as books) he made him the aſſociate of his Heir apparent, together vvith the now Lord *Cottington* (as an adjunct of ſingular experience and truſt) in forraign travels, and in a buſineſs of Love, and of no equal hazard (if the tenderneſs of our zeal did not then deceive us;)

enough (the vvorld muſt confeſs) to kindle affection even betwixt the diſtanteſt conditions; ſo as by the various and inward converſation abroad, (beſides that before and after at home) vvith the moſt conſtant and beſt natured Prince, *Bona ſi ſua nôrint*, as ever *England* enjoyed, this Duke becomes now ſecondly ſeized of favour, as it vvere by deſcent (though the condition of that eſtate be commonly no more then a Tenancy at vvill, or at moſt for the life of the firſt Lord) and rarely tranſmitted: vvhich I have briefly ſet down, vvithout looking beyond the vail of the Temple, I mean, into the ſecret of high inclinations; ſince even Satyrical Poets, (vvho are otherwiſe of ſo licentious fancy) are in this point modeſt enough to confeſs their ignorance.

Neſcio quid certè eſt quod me tibi temperet Aſtrum.

And theſe vvere both their ſpringings and Imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I obſerve likewiſe not only much difference between them; but in the Earl, not a little from himſelf. Firſt, all his hopes of advancement had like to be ſtrangled almoſt in the very Cradle, by throwing himſelf into the *Portugal* Voyage vvithout the Queens conſent, or ſo much as her knowledge; vvhereby he left his friends and dependants near ſix moneths in deſperate ſuſpenſe vvhat vvould become of him. And to ſpeak truth, not vvithout good reaſon: For firſt, they might vvell conſider, That he vvas himſelf not vvell plumed in favour for ſuch a flight: Beſides, That now he vvanted a Lord of *Leiceſter* at home (for he vvas dead

dead the year before) to ſmooth his abſence, and to quench the practiſes at Court. But above all, it lay open to every mans diſcourſe, that though the bare offence to his Soveraign and Miſtriſs vvas too great an adventure; yet much more, vvhen ſhe might (as in this caſe) have fairly diſcharged her diſpleaſure upon her Laws. Notwithſtanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all vvas clear, and this excurſion vvas eſteemed but a Sally of youth: Nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit: vvhether ſuch intermiſſions as theſe do ſometimes foment affection; or that, having committed a fault, he became the more obſequious and plyant to redeem it: Or that ſhe yet had not received into her Royal breſt any ſhadows of his popularity.

There vvas another time long after, vvhen Sir *Fulke Grevill* (late Lord *Brook*) a man in appearance intrinſecal vvith him, or at the leaſt admitted to his Melancholly hours, either belike eſpying ſome vvearineſs in the Queen, or perhaps (vvith little change of the vvord, though more in the danger) ſome vvarineſs towards him; and vvorking upon the preſent matter (as he vvas dexterous and cloſe) had almoſt ſuper-induced into favour the Earl of *Southampton*; vvhich yet being timely diſcovered, my Lord of *Eſſex* choſe to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common vvay) to be ſung before the Queen, (as it vvas) by one *Hales*, in vvhoſe voice ſhe took ſome pleaſure; vvhereof the complot, me thinks, had as much of the Hermit as of the Poet.

And if thou ſhould'ſt by her be now forſaken,
She made thy Heart too ſtrong for to be ſhaken.

As

As if he had been casting one eye back at the lea to his former retiredness. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after fair weather over-head. Yet still, I know not how, like a gathering of Clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew Tart, as being now in the Lees of favour, it brake forth into certain sudden recesses; sometimes from the Court to *Wansteed*, otherwhiles unto *Greenwich*, often to his own Chamber; Doors shut, Visits forbidden, and which was worse, divers Contestations (between) even with the Queen her self, (all preambles of ruine;) wherewith, though now and then he did wring out of her Majesty some petty contentments, (as a man would press sowr Grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the Counsel of a Wise, and then a Prophetical Friend, who told him, that such courses as those were like hot Waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often used, will spoil the stomack.

On the Dukes part, we have no such abrupt strayns and precipees as these, but a fair fluent and uniform course under both Kings: And surely, as there was in his natural Constitution a marvellous equality, whereof I shall speak more afterwards; so there was an image of it in his Fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient comparison) as smoothly as a numerous Verse, till it met with certain Rubs in Parliament, whereof I am induced by the very Subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so far as shall concern the difference between their times.

When my Lord of *Essex* stood in favour, the Parliaments were calm: Nay, I find it a true ob-

ser-

ſervation, that there vvas no Impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons from the Reign of King *Henry* the ſixth, until the eighteenth of King *James*, nor any intervenient precedent of that Nature; not that ſomething or other could be vvanting to be ſaid, vvhile men are men: For not to go higher, vve are taught eaſily ſo much by the very Ballads and Libels of the *Leiceſtrian* time.

But about the aforeſaid Year, many young ones being choſen into the Houſe of Commons, more then had been uſual in great Councels, (vvho though of the vveakeſt vvings, yet are the higheſt Flyers) there aroſe a certain unfortunate and unfruitful Spirit in ſome places; not ſowing, but picking at every ſtone in the Field, rather then tending to the general Harveſt. And thus far the conſideration of the Nature of the Time hath tranſported me, and the occaſion of the Subject.

Now on the other ſide, I muſt vvith the like liberty obſerve two vveighty and vvatchful Solicitudes (as I may call them) vvhich kept the Earl in extreme and continual Caution, like a Bow ſtill bent; vvhereof the Dukes thoughts vvere abſolutely free.

Firſt, he vvas to vvraſtle vvith a Queens declining, or rather vvith her very ſetting Age (as vve may term it,) vvhich, beſides other reſpects, is commonly even of it ſelf the more umbratious and apprehenſive, as for the moſt part all Horizons are charged vvith certain Vapours towards their Evening.

The other vvas a matter of more Circumſtance, ſtanding thus, *viz.*

All Princes, eſpecially thoſe vvhom God hath not

not bleſſed vvith natural iſſue, are (by vviſdome of State) ſomewhat ſhye of their Succeſſors; and to ſpeak vvith due Reverence, there may be reaſonably ſuppoſed in Queens Regnant, a little proportion of tenderneſs that vvay, more then in Kings. Now there vvere in Court two names of *Power*, and almoſt of *Faction*; the *Eſſexian*, and the *Cecilian*, vvith their adherents; both vvell enough enjoying the preſent, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding correſpondency vvith ſome of the principal in *Scotland*, and had received advertiſements and inſtructions, either from them, or immediately from the King, as indubiate Heir of this Imperial Crown.

But leſt they might detect one another; this vvas Myſteriouſly carried by ſeveral inſtruments and conducts, and on the *Eſſexian* ſide, in truth, vvith infinite hazard: for Sir *Robert Cecil*, vvho (as Secretary of State) did diſpoſe the publick Addreſſes, had prompter and ſafer conveyance; vvhereupon I cannot but relate a memorable paſſage on either part, as the ſtory following ſhall declare.

The Earl of *Eſſex* had accommodated Maſter *Anthony Bacon* in partition of his Houſe, and had aſſigned him a noble entertainment: This vvas a Gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head, and through his hand ran all the intelligences vvith *Scotland*; vvho being of a provident nature (contrary to his Brother the Lord Viſcount St. *Albons*) and vvell knowing the advantage of a dangerous Secret, vvould many times cunningly let fall ſome vvords, as if he could much amend his Fortunes under the *Cecilians* (to vvhom he vvas near of alliance and in bloud alſo) and vvho had made (as he

he was not unwilling ſhould be believed) ſome great proffers to win him away: which once or twice he preſſed ſo far, and with ſuch tokens and ſigns of apparent diſcontent to my Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, (who was of the party, and ſtood himſelf inmuch Umbrage with the Queen) that he flyes preſently to my Lord of *Eſſex* (with whom he was commonly *prima admiſſionis*, by his bed ſide in the morning) and tells him, that unleſs that Gentleman were preſently ſatisfied with ſome round ſumme, all would be vented.

This took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was fain ſuddenly to give him *Eſſex*-Houſe; which the good old Lady *Walſingham* did afterwards diſ-ingage out of her own ſtore with 2500 pound; and before, he had diſtilled 1500 pound at another time by the ſame skil. So as we may rate this one Secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in preſent money, beſides at the leaſt 1000 pound of annual penſion to a private and bed-rid Gentleman: What would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own buſineſs?

There was another accident of the ſame nature on the *Cecilian* ſide, much more pleaſant, but leſs chargeable, for it coſt nothing but wit. The Queen having for a good while not heard any thing from *Scotland*, and being thirſty of news, it fell out that her Majeſty going to take the air towards the Heath (the Court being then at *Greenwich*) and Maſter Secretary *Cecill* then attending her, a Poſt came croſſing by, and blew his Horn, The Queen out of curioſity asked him from whence the Diſpatch came; and being anſwered, From *Scotland*;

land; ſhe ſtops the Coach, and calleth for the Packet. The Secretary, though he knew there were in it ſome Letters from his Correſpondents, which to diſcover, were as ſo many Serpents; yet made more ſhew of diligence, then of doubt to obey; and asks ſome that ſtood by (forſooth in great haſt) for a knife to cut up the Packet (for otherwiſe he might perhaps have awaked a little apprehenſion;) but in the mean time approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty diſtance from the Queen, he telleth her, it looked and ſmelt ill-favouredly, coming out of a filthy budget, and that it ſhould be fit firſt to open and air it, becauſe he knew ſhe was averſe from ill ſents. And ſo being diſmiſſed home, he got leaſure by this ſeaſonable ſhift, to ſever what he would not have ſeen.

Theſe two accidents, preciſely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpoſe, to ſhew how the Earl ſtood in certain perplexities, wherewith the Dukes days were not diſtracted. And this hath been the Hiſtorical part (as it were) touching the difference between them in the riſing and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now conſider their ſeveral indowments both of *Perſon* and *Mind*, and then a little of their *Actions* and *Ends*.

The Earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the ſtronger, and of the abler body: But the Duke had the neater limbs and freer delivery; he was alſo the uprighter, and of the more comely motions; for the Earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards, then downwards: and he was ſo far from being a good Dancer, that he

he was no graceful goer. If we touch particulars, the Duke exceeded in the daintineſs of his leg and foot, and the Earl in the incomparable fairneſs and fine ſhape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praiſe) he took from his Father: For the general Air, the Earl had the cloſer and more reſerved Countenance, being by nature ſomewhat more cogitative, and (which was ſtrange) never more then at meals, when others are leaſt: Inſomuch, as he was wont to make his obſervation of himſelf, that to ſolve any knotty buſineſs which cumbred his mind, his ableſt hours were when he had checked his firſt appetite with two or three morſels, after which he ſate uſually for a good while ſilent: yet he would play well and willingly at ſome games of greateſt attention, which ſhewed that when he liſted, he could licence his thoughts.

The Duke on the other ſide, even in the midſt of ſo many diverſions, had continually a very pleaſant and vacant face (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a ſingular aſſurance in his temper. And yet I muſt here give him a rarer Elogy, which the maligneſt eye cannot deny him, That certainly, never man in his place and power, did entertain greatneſs more familiarly, nor whoſe looks were leſs tainted with his felicity; wherein I inſiſt the rather, becauſe this in my judgement was one of his greateſt vertues and victories of himſelf.

But to proceed, in the attiring and ornament of their bodies, the Duke had a fine and unaffected politeneſs, and upon occaſion coſtly, as in his Legations.

The Earl, as he grew more and more attentive to

to buſineſs and matters, ſo leſs and leſs curious of cloathing: Inſomuch, as I do remember, thoſe about him had a conceit, that poſſibly ſometimes when he went up to the Queen, he might ſcant know what he had on; for this was his manner: His Chamber being commonly ſtived with Friends or Suiters of one kind or other, when he was up, he gave his legs, arms, and breſt to his ordinary ſervants to button and dreſs him, with little heed, his head and face to his Barber, his eyes to his letters, and ears to Petitioners, and many times all at once; then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a cloak over his ſhoulders, he would make a ſtep into his Cloſet, and after a ſhort prayer, he was gone: only in his Baths, he was ſomewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, they were both very inordinate in their appetites, eſpecially the Earl, who was by nature of ſo indifferent a taſte, that I muſt tell a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would ſtop in the midſt of any phyſical Potion, and after he had licked his lips, he would drink off the reſt; but I am weary of ſuch ſlight Animadverſions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their Minds, I will thus much declare.

The Earl was of good Erudition, having been placed at ſtudy in *Cambridge* very young by the Lord *Burleigh*, his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the overſight of Doctor *Whitgift*, then Maſter of *Trinity Colledge*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: A man (by the way) ſurely of moſt Reverend and Sacred memory, and (as I may well ſay) even of the Primitive temper; when the Church by lowlineſs of ſpirit, did flouriſh in high examples: which I have inſerted as a due

due recordation of his vertues, having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About sixteen years of his age, (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of Master of Arts, and kept his publick Acts. And here I must not smother what I have received by constant Information, That his own Father died with a very cold conceit of him; some say, through the affection to his second son *Walter Devereux*, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture: But it seems, this Earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open slowly; Nature sometimes delighting to play an afrer-game as well as Fortune, which had both their turns and tides in course.

The Duke was Illiterate, yet had learned at Court, first to sift and question well, and to supply his own defects, by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best Instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publick or his own proper use; so as the less he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the Graces.

To consider them in their pure Naturals, I conceive the Earls Intellectual faculties to have been his stronger part, and in the Duke his Practical.

Yet all know, that he likewise at the first was much under the expectation of his after-proof; such a Solar influence there is in the Soveraign aspect. For their Abilities of discourse or pen, the Earl was a very acute and sound speaker when he would intend it; and for his writings, they are

beyond example, especially in his familiar Letters and things of delight at Court, when he would admit his serious habits, as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of entertainment, and above all in his darling piece of love, and self love; his Stile was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldome any bold Metaphors; and so far from Tumour, that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Dukes delivery of his mind, I conceive not to be so sharp, as solid and grave; not so solid and deep, as pertinent, and apposite to the times and occasions.

The Earl I account the more liberal, and the Duke the more magnificent; for I do not remember that my Lord of *Essex* in all his life time did build or adorn any house, the Queen perchance spending his time, and himself his means; or otherwise inclining to popular wayes; for we know the people are apter to applaud house-keepers, then house-raisers. They were both great cherishers of Scholars and Divines; but it seems the Earl had obtained of himself one singular point, that he could depart his affection between two extreams: for though he bare alwayes a kind of filial reverence towards Dr. *Whitgift*, both before and after he was Archbishop; yet on the other side, he did not a little love and tender Mr. *Cartwright*, though I think truly, with large distinction between the Persons and the Causes, however he was taxed with other ends in respecting that party.

They were both fair-spoken Gentlemen, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; and in this the Earl hath been most falsly blemished in

in our vulgar Story: only against one man he had forsworn all patience, namely *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and would call him (*per Excellentiam*) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his name) even to the Queen her self, though of no small insinuation with her; and one Lady likewise (that I may civilly spare to nominate, for her sex sake) whom he used to term the Spider of the Court: yet generally in the sensitive part of their Natures, the Earl was the worst Philosopher, being a great Resenter, and a weak Dissembler of the least disgrace: And herein likewise, as in the rest, no good Pupil to my Lord of *Leicester*, who was wont to put all his passions in his pocket.

In the growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a little the swifter, and much the greater; for from a younger Brothers mean estate, he rose to the highest degree whereof a Subject was capable, either in Title or Trust. Therein I must confess, much more consortable to *Charles Brandon* under *Henry the Eight*, who was equal to him in both.

For matter of Donative and addition of substance, I do not believe that the Duke did much exceed him, all considered, under both Kings.

For that which the Earl of *Essex* had received from her Majesty, besides the Fees of his Offices, and the disposition of great Summes of money in her Armies, was (about the time of his Arraignment, when faults use to be aggravated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thousand pounds sterling in pure gift for his only use, by the Earl of *Dorset*, then Lord Treasurer; who was a wise man, and a strict Computist, and not well affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of note

in the Margent of both Times, that the one was profecuted with ſilence, and the other with murmure; So undoing a meaſure is popular judgement!

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in eſtabliſhing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the firſt: the Duke had a care to introduce into near place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high places very ſound and grave Perſonages. Whereas, except a Penſioner or two, we can ſcant name any one man advanced of the Earls breeding, but Sir *Thomas Smith*, having been his Secretary; who yet came never further (though married into a noble Houſe) then to the Clerk of the Councel, and Regiſter of the Parliament: not that the Earl meant to ſtand alone like a Subſtantive (for he was not ſo ill a Grammarian in Court;) but the Truth is, in this point, the *Cecilians* kept him back, as very well knowing that upon every little abſence or diſaffiduity, he ſhould be ſubject to take cold at his back.

For the other, in the managing of their Fames, I note between them a direct contrary wiſdome; For the Earl proceeded by way of Apology, which he wrote and diſperſed with his own hands at large, though till his going to *Ireland* they were but aiery objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his eaſe to do him that kind of Service; He refuſed it with a pretty kind of thankful ſcorn, ſaying, that he would truſt his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errours; and that he ſaw no fruit of Apologies, but the multiplying of diſ-

diſcourſe; which ſurely was a well ſetled Maxime. And for my own particular (though I am not obnoxious to his memory, in the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, *Neque injuria*, *neque beneficio*, ſaving that he ſhewed me an ordinary good Countenance: And if I were, yet I would diſtinguiſh between Gratitude and Truth) I muſt bear him this Teſtimony, that in a Commiſſion laid upon me by Soveraign Command, to examine a Lady about a certain filthy accuſation, grounded upon nothing but a few ſingle names taken up by a Foot-man in a kennel, and ſtraight baptized, [A liſt of ſuch as the Duke had appointed to be poyſoned at home, himſelf being then in *Spain*:] I found it to be the moſt malicious and frantick ſurmize, and the moſt contrary to his nature, that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the World, howſoever countenanced by a Libellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Phyſician even in Print; and yet of this would not the Duke ſuffer any anſwer to be made on his behalf, ſo conſtant he was to his own principles.

In their Military Services, the Characters of the Earls imployments were theſe, *viz.*

His forwardeſt, was that of *Portugal*, before mentioned.

The ſaddeſt, that of *Roan*, where he loſt his brave Brother.

His fortunateſt piece I eſteem the taking of *Cadiz Malez*, and no leſs modeſt; for there he wrote with his own hands a cenſure of his Omiſſions.

His jealouſeſt imployment was to the relief of *Calais*, beſieged by the Cardinal Arch-duke: about

which, there passed then between the Queen and the *French* King much Art.

His Voyage to the *Azores* was the best, for the discovery of the *Spanish* weakness, and otherwise almost a saving Voyage.

His blackest was that to *Ireland*, ordained to be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph of his own Fortunes.

But the first, in 88, at *Tilbury Camp*, was in my judgement, the very poyson of all that followed; for there whilest the Queen stood in some doubt of a *Spanish invasion* (though it proved but a Morrice-dance upon our Waves) she made him in Field Commander of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court,) and much graced him openly in view of the Souldiers and people, even above my Lord of *Leicester*: the truth is, from thenceforth he fed too fast.

The Dukes imployment abroad in this nature, was only in the Action of the *Isle of Reez*, of which I must note somewhat for the honour of our Countrey, and of His Majesties times, and of them that perished and survived, and to redeem it generally from mis-understanding. Therefore after enquiry amongst the wisest and most indifferent men, of that Action, I dare pronounce, that all Circumstances pondered, A tumultuary landing on our part, with about 1000 in the whole; On theirs, ready to receive us, some 200 Horse, with near 2000 Foot, and watching their best time of advantage, none of their Foot discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and only some of their Horse descryed straggling, but not in any bulk or body; their Cavalry not a Troop of *Riscoigners*, mounted in hast, but the greater part Gentlemen of

of Family, and of pickt Reſolution, and ſuch as charged home both in Front and on both Flanks into the very ſea; about ſixſcore of their 200 Horſe ſtrewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with a great ſhot; and after this, their Foot likewiſe coming on to charge, till not liking the buſineſs, they fell to flinging of ſtones, and ſo walked away.

I ſay, theſe things conſidered and laid together, we have great reaſon to repute it a great impreſſion upon an unknown place, and a noble argument, that upon occaſion, we have not loſt our Ancient vigour. Only I could wiſh that the Duke, who then in the animating of the Souldiers ſhewed them very eminent aſſurance of his valour, had afterwards remembred that rule of *Apelles*, *Manum de Tabula*. But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publick ends, and too confident in the proſperity of beginnings, as ſomewhere *Polybius*, *that great Critique* of war, obſerveth of young Leaders, whom fortune hath not before deceived.

In this their Military care and diſpenſation of reward and puniſhment, there was very few remarkable occaſions under the Duke, ſaving his continual vigilancy and voluntary hazard of his perſon, and kindneſſes to the Souldiers, both from his own table and purſe; for there could be few diſorders within an Iſland where the Troops had no ſcope to disband, and the inferiour Commanders were ſtill in ſight.

In the Earl we have two examples of his ſeverity, the one in the Iſland Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his own hand out of a Ship; the other in *Ireland*, where he decimated certain

Troops that ran away, renewing a piece of the *Roman* Discipline.

On the other side, we have many of his Lenity, and one of his Facility, when he did connive at the bold Trespass of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who before his own arrival at *Fayall*, had landed there against his precise Commandment; at which time he let fall a Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martial Court: That I would do (said he) if he were my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last act, which was written in the Book of necessity.

At the Earls end I was abroad, but when I came home (though little was left for Writers to glean after Judges) yet, I spent some curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious Catastrophe; and I must, according to my professed freedome, deliver a circumstance or two of some weight in the truth of that story, which was neither discovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private confessions.

There was amongst his neareſt attendants, one *Henry Cuffe*, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate Counsels smothered under the habit of a Scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clowniſh fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.

This Person, not above five or six weeks before my Lords fatal irruption into the City, was by the Earls Special Command suddenly discharged from all further attendance, or access unto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and

and importune infusions, and out of a glimmering overſight, that he would prove the very Inſtrument of his ruine.

I muſt adde hereunto, that about the ſame time my Lord had received from the Counteſs of *Warwick* (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a vertuous uſer of her power) the beſt advice that I think was ever given from either Sex; That when he was free from Reſtraint, he ſhould cloſely take any out-lodging at *Greenwich*, and ſometimes when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, (whereof ſhe would give him notice) he ſhould come forth, and humble himſelf before Her in the Field.

This Counſel ſunk much into him, and for ſome dayes he reſolved it: but in the mean time, through the interceſſion of the Earl of *Southampton*, whom *Cuffe* had gained, he was reſtored to my Lords ear, and ſo working advantage upon his diſgraces, and upon the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, ſpun out the final deſtruction of his Maſter and himſelf, and almoſt of his Reſtorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.

True it is, that the Earl in *Weſtminſter-hall* did in general diſcloſe the evil perſwaſions of this man; but the particulars which I have related of his diſmiſſion and reſtitution, he buried in his own breſt for ſome reaſons apparent enough; indeed (as I conjecture) not to exaſperate the Caſe of my Lord of *Southampton*, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true Report I had by infallible means from the perſon himſelf that both brought the advice from the aforeſaid excellent Lady, and carried the

the discharge to *Cuffe*, who in a private Chamber was strucken therewith into a swoun almost dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from some high Steeple: such Turrets of hope he had built in his own Fancy.

Touching the Dukes sudden period, how others have represented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I must confess from my soul, that I never recall it to mind without a deep and double astonishment of my discourse and reason:

First of the very horror and atrocity of the Fact in a Christian Court, under so moderate a Government; but much more at the impudency of the pretence, whereby a desperate discontented Assassinate would after the perpetration have honested a meer private revenge (as by precedent circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publick respects, and would fain have given it a Parliamentary cover. Howsoever, thus these two great Peers were dis-robed of their Glory, the one by judgement, the other by violence, which was the small distinction.

Now after this short contemplation of their diversities (for much more might have been spoken, but that I was fitter for Rapsody then Commentary) I am lastly desirous to take a summary view of their Conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient Parallel.

They both slept long in the arms of Fortune: They were both of ancient blood, and of Forraign extraction: They were both of straight and goodly stature, and of able and active bodies: They were

were both induſtrious and aſſiduous, and attentive to their ends: They were both early Privy-Councellors, and imployed at home in the ſecreteſt and weightieſt affairs in Court and State: They were both likewiſe Commanders abroad in Chief, as well by Sea, as by Land: both Maſters of the Horſe at home, both choſen Chancellours of the ſame Univerſity, namely, *Cambridge*: They were both indubitable ſtrong, and high-minded men; yet of ſweet and accoſtable Nature, almoſt equally delighting in the preſs and affluence of Dependants and Suiters, which are alwayes the Burres, and ſometimes the Briers of Favourites. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies, and ſole Heirs, and left iſſue of their Sex, and both their Wives converted to contrary Religions. They were both in themſelves rare and excellent examples of Temperance and Sobriety; but neither of them of Continency.

Laſtly, after they had been both ſubject (as all Greatneſs and Splendor is) to certain obloquies of their actions; They both concluded their earthly felicity in unnatural ends, and with no great diſtance of time in the ſpace either of life or favour.

And ſo having diſcharged this poor Exerciſe of my Pen according to my Knowledge and Reality, let us commit thoſe two noble Peers to their Eternal reſt, with their memorable abilities remaining in few, and their compaſſionate infirmities common to all.

THE

THE DIFFERENCE AND DISPARITY

Between the

Eſtates and Conditions

OF

GEORGE

Duke of *BUCKINGHAM*,

AND

ROBERT

Earl of *ESSEX*.

Written by the *Earl* of *Clarendon* in his younger dayes.

THough it ſhall appear an unſeaſonable itch of Wit to ſay ought in this Subject, and an unskilful one, if invention reach not what is already ſaid, with all the ſwelling Elogies that ſhall attend all that fall from that Pen; yet I ſhall preſume (diſavowing only the vanities)

to

to think that in the ſevereſt conſiderations of their Perſons, in their Educations, in their Inſinuations into favour, in managing that Favour, in their whole Education (but that they were both glorious in the eyes of their Princes) they were as diſtant, as unfit, as impoſſible for Parallels, as any two vertuous and great perſons (for ſo they were both) we can direct our diſcourſe to. Their incumbrances, and diſadvantages, being ſo different, that it was the juſt wonder (and yet continnes) of the world, that the Earl could ever fall, (his whole fate being in the diſcretion of his own ſoul;) and the Duke (who all his life of favour, ſtood the mark ſhot at by the moſt petulant and malicious ſpirits this Climate ever nouriſhed) could ſtand ſo long.

He that ſhall walk in a ſhort ſurvey of both their times, actions, and dependancies, ſhall find them theſe.

Though the firſt approach of the Earl to Court was under the ſhadow of the Great Earl of Leiceſter, yet he owned him rather for his invitation thither, then his preferment there.

For no queſtion, he found advantage from the ſtock of his Fathers Reputation; the people looking on his quality with reverence (for I do not find that any young Nobleman had yet ſurprized their hopes, or drawn their eyes) and on his youth with pity; for they were nothing ſatisfied concerning his Fathers death, who had been advanced to honourable dangers by the mediation of ſuch as delighted not in his company; as it was the myſterious wiſdome of thoſe times to poyſon with oyl, & homines per honores ferire. And if there were not any ſuch compaſſion in the Queen, yet ſurely ſhe beheld him as the ſon of an excellent man, that died in her ſervice, and had left a precious fame ſurviving.

In the Court he ſtayed not above a year, but undertook that journey into the Low Countreys with his Father-in-law,

law, and went General of the Horse in a great Army, though he was not full nineteen years of age, there being then no such Criticisms as interpreted the acceptance or pursuit even of the greatest dignity and command, a conspiracy against the State; but all men were glad to see him set himself so brave a task, by undertaking such an Imployment.

From this first action he took a Charter of the peoples hearts, which was never cancell'd; but as if they had looked only on the boldness, not the success of his enterprises, he was sure to return with triumph, though the Voyage miscarried: for amongst all his forraign undertakings, if they be weighed in the peoples usual Scale, the Cost, though there was not above one or two prosperous returns, and as many that had sad and calamitous issues; yet he never suffered the least publick imputation or murmure; but was received with that joy, as if the Fleet or Army were sent out to bring him home, not any spoil or conquest, (to which he had wholly dedicated his faculties.)

He moved only in his proper Orb; out of it he was extra sphæram activitatis, *and rather of much business, (as a man towards whom the Queen had directed some rayes of affection) then of much dexterity above other men.*

Surely, I by no means imagine him built or furnished for a Courtier.

For however the Arts and mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet as in the reformation and improvement of all Sciences, there are certain principles and maximes unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain comparity, conformity, and complacency in the manners, and a discreet subtilty in the composition, without which (as with those principles) no man in any Age or Court shall be eminent in the Aulical *function.*

Now how ill the Earl was read in this Philosophy, his ser-

ſervant Cuffe (*whoſe obſervations were ſharp enough, whatever Stoiciſmes raved in his nature*) *well diſcerned, when he ſaid*, Amorem & odium ſemper in fronte geſſit, nec celare novit.

And I ſhall not impute it to his want of will (*though that would be but an ill argument, for his Courtſhip*) *nor of* power, *for he did many greater things; but only of* skil *to contrive conveniences of honours and preferments at Court, for ſuch friends as might have been good out-works to have fortifi'd and ſecur'd his own condition, except all his dependants were of another complexion then could have lived in that Air.*

And indeed, I do not find that the Earl much inclined to, or deſired the reputation of a Courtier, beſides the preſervation of himſelf, and the Queens affection (which yet he endeavoured rather to maſter, then to win;) but he ſeemed, though he had ſuch places of honour and attendance as be the moſt ſignificant badges of a Courtier, but in pace belli gerere negotium, *and retired only from the War to prevent Peace.*

Then if we viſit his correſpondencies abroad (which he rather maintained out of ſtate, then contrived out of skil) we ſhall ſee they were alwayes with an eye upon actions, and his Intelligences had ever ſome hint of Tumult and Commotion; as if the King of Spain *was loud or frantick at his devotions, as when he vowed at Maſs, that he would be reveng'd of* England, *though he ſold all thoſe Candleſticks upon the Altar: This Information was given by the Earl. But it was obſerved then, that if there were ought intended againſt the Life or Perſon of the Queen, though it were in the Court of* Spain, *where the Earl had eſpecially his Leiſiers, the firſt notice came over by my Lord* Cecil, *for whom (indeed) it ſeemed as neceſſary there ſhould be treaſons, as for the State that they ſhould be prevented. Inſomuch as it was then (how unjuſtly*

justly soever) conceived, that though he created none, yet he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty, having no other advantage (as the Earl and others had in person) to justifie him in an ordinary estimation, but by eminent services.

And those he knew must be best relished, that concerned her own preservation; and therefore in the least vacations from Treasons, he was ever busie to set on foot some vigilant and tender Law (as there was scarce any Parliament, without some such) that had a peculiar eye to the Queens safety. Which (however they are by such as cannot apprehend the danger of those times, looked upon without much reverence) could not but make singular impression in the Queens heart of his fidelity.

The Incumbrances that the Earl had to wrestle with al (for I shall only look over his life without particular enquiry into his actions, which had all glorious ends, or glorious intentions) were fewer then ever any great man ever met with al, and his advantages more in number, and in weight.

'Tis true, he was rival'd by a strong and subtile faction, which cared and consulted for his ruine, as a foundation they must build upon; and were intent to betray him abroad, and misinterpret him at home: yet the danger was thus allay'd, that they were all his publique and professed enemies, and so known unto the Queen, that they durst never impertinently urge ought against him, since they were sure their malice was concluded, when the reason of their objection happily might not be considered.

And indeed, that trick of countenancing and protecting factions (as that Queen almost her whole Reign did with singular and equal demonstration of grace look upon several persons of most distinct wishes one towards another) was not the least ground of much of her quiet and success. And she never doubted but that men that were never so opposite in

in their good will each to others, nor never so dishoneſt in their projectments for each others confuſion, might yet be reconciled into their Allegiance towards her. Inſomuch, that during her whole Reign, ſhe never endeavoured to reconcile any perſonal differences in the Court, though the unlawful emulations of perſons of neareſt truſt about her, were even like to overthrow ſome of her chiefeſt deſigns. A Policy ſeldome entertained by Princes, eſpecially if they have iſſues to ſurvive them.

Among the advantages the Earl had (and he had many that will diſtinguiſh him from any man that hath, or is likely to ſucceed him) I ſhall rank the nature and the ſpirit of that time in the firſt place. For I ſhall not mention his Intereſt in the Queens favour, till the laſt, which ſhall appear greateſt by the circumſtances that loſt it.

'Twas an ingenuous un-inquiſitive time, when all the paſſions and affections of the people were lapped up in ſuch an innocent and humble obedience, that there was never the leaſt conteſtations, nor capitulations with the Queen, nor (though ſhe very frequently conſulted with her Subjects) any further reaſons urged of her actions, then her own will.

When there were any grievances, they but reverently conveyed them to her notice, and left the time and order of the reſt to her Princely diſcretion. Once they were more importunate and formal in purſuing the complaints of the Purveyers for proviſion, which without queſtion was a crying and an heavy oppreſſion: The Queen ſent them word, they all thought themſelves wiſe enough to reform the miſdemeanours of their own families, and wiſh't that they had ſo good opinion of her, as to truſt her with her ſervants too. I do not find that the Secretary who delivered this Meſſage, received any reproach or check, or that they proceeded any further in their inquiſition. In this excellent

time the Queens remarkable Grace indeared the Earl to the regard of the people, which he quickly improved to a more tender estimation; neither was this affection of theirs ever an objection against him, till himself took too much notice of it; for the Queen had ever loved her people without the least scruple of jealousie, nor was ever offended if he was the darling of their eyes, till she suspected he inclined to be the darling of their hearts.

In his Friendships he was so fortunate, that though he contracted with ancient enemies, and such as he had undeserved by some unkindness, as grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his trust, or had ever his secrets derived unhandsomly to any ears that they were not intended to: and this, if he had not planted himself upon such, whose zeal to his service was more remarkable then their other abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a fate.

Lastly, he had so strong an harbour in the Queens breast, that notwithstanding these dangerous indiscretions of committing himself in his recreations and shooting-matches to the publique view of so many thousand Citizens, which usually flocked to see him, and made within the reach of his own ears large acclamations in his praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his troop of attendance, and under that shadow bringing into the Court, divers persons not liked by the Queen, and some that had been in prison for suspicion of Treason, as Captain Wainman; and then his glorious feather-triumph, when he caused two thousand Orange-tawny Feathers, in despight of Sir Walter Raleigh, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even before Her Majesties own face (all which would have found regret in the stomacks of most Princes:) yet neither these, nor any whispers that were distill'd into the Queens ears (for ought appears) ever lessened him in her Highness's regard, till he committed such strange mistakes as ever have been pro-

proſecuted with moſt exemplary puniſhments by the Lawes themſelves: which (though in jealouſie of Princes, they oft compound Treaſons out of circumſtances and poſſibilities) yet are as tender of the reputation of great men as in any Commonwealth whatſoever.

If toward his period the Queen grew a leſs merciful interpreter of his failings and ſucceſſes; 'twas when ſhe believed he grew too familiar, and in love with his paſſions, and had a mind not to be ſatisfied but upon his conditions, and too inſenſible of his own errors. And (truly) that would not be unfitly applyed to him, that was once ſaid of the terrible Mountford *Earl of* Leiceſter, *in the reign of* Henry *the Third*; *(though nothing be more horrible to me then the petulancy of that wit, which for an unhandſome jeſt, would accuſe him of a purpoſe to be King (for doubtleſs in his ſolemn purpoſes he was of a firm and unſhaken allegiance) that he had a ſpirit too great for a Subject. For beſides that he look'd from above, and with a diſpleaſure that had a mixture of ſcorn more then anger upon ſuch as courted not his protection, his talk was in an high and unuſual dialect; he took much delight to diſcover an hatred (like a contempt) of the King of* Spain, *and would often mention his perſon as familiarly as* Luther *did our* Henry *the Eighth*; *and as* Fox *begins his Book againſt the Pope with the firſt lines of* Tullies *Oration againſt* Cataline, Quouſque tandem, *&c. and ſo he would write in his ordinary Letters, and publiſh in his Apology*, I will teach that proud King to know, *&c. Which ſounded poſſibly not ſo acceptable to the Queen her ſelf, who though ſhe were perfect enough in her diſlike to that King, thought that the greateſt Subject ought not to approach the infirmities, or the mention of any King without ſome reverence. And the Earl in his zeal to the* Hollanders *(when the great deſign was to mediate a Truce between* Spain *and them, and almoſt*

the whole Councel-board inclin'd that way) would not only in the violence of his opposition shew a dislike to the insolency and tyranny of the Spaniards, *but of the very Government of a Monarchy.*

Then his carriage towards the Queen her self was very strange, and his usual converse upon too bold terms, which proceeded not from any distemper but his passions, (though natural choler be but an unruly excuse for roughness with Princes :) but 'twas a way of traffick (I know not upon what unlucky success) he had from the beginning fancied, and lasted even to his end. Insomuch, as upon his first restraint, (which was not many moneths before his conclusion) he did somewhat neglect the Queens pardon, because it came not accompanied with a new grant of his Lease of the farm of sweet Wines, which was then near expired; though she intimated to him, that she only deferred that Grace upon the Physicians Maximes : Corpora impura, quo magis pascas, læseris.

Lastly, If ever that uncouth speech fell from him to the Queen, which is delivered to us by one that was much conversant then in the secrets of the Court, That she was as crooked in her disposition, as in her carcass (when haply there was a little unevenness in her shoulders) all my wonder at his destruction is taken from me : and I must needs confess, I am nothing satisfied with that loose report which hath crept into our discourse, that shortly after his miserable end, (which indeed deserved compassion from all hearts) I know not upon what unseasonable delivery (if a Ring or Jewel by some Lady of the Court, the Queen expressed much reluctancy for his death. I am sure no discovery, no expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the indignity of the Sermon at Pauls Cross, *and set out by Command, or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons; which were two of the most pestilent Libels against*

against his Fame, that any Age hath seen published against any Malefactour, and could not with that deliberation have been contrived, and justified by Authority, had not there been some sparks of indignation in the Queen that were unquenched even with his blood.

'Tis time to call my self homewards to the view of those considerations, in which will clearly appear the in-equalsty of the Dukes condition, to what hath been said of the Earl: and it may be, I have been at my distance too bold an undertaker of these actions, which were performed so many years before my cradle.

I shall not much insist on the Dukes Morning, being so different from that of the Earls, as would discountenance all purposes of bringing them into one circle; he had no satisfaction in his friendships, or pretence in his quality, but was his own Harbinger at Court. For though the Herauld may walk in as large a Field of his Pedegree, as shall concern any Subject, yet that being no in-let to his advancements, or occasion of his favour, I shall leave to such as shall have the preferment to write his Life. 'Tis true, that soon after his approach was found to be acceptable, and that he was like enough to be entertained by Him that had most power to bid him welcome; he received pretty conveniences from the respects of some great men, which at most (being as much out of disaffection to others, as tenderness to him) yielded him rather assistance, then support; so that indeed he was (if ever any) Faber fortunæ suæ: and all such as will not be impudent strangers to the discerning spirit of that King who first cherished him, cannot but impute it to a certain innate wisdome and vertue that was in him, with which he surprized, and even fascinated all the faculties of his incomparable Master. Hee was nee sooner admitted to stand there in his owne right, but the eyes of

all such as either look'd out of judgement, or gazed out of curiosity, were quickly directed towards him, as a man in the delicacy and beauty of his colour, decency and grace of his motion, the most rarely accomplished they had ever beheld; whilest some that found inconveniences in his nearness, intended by some affront to discountenance his effeminacy, till they perceived he had masked under it so terrible a courage as would safely protect all his sweetnesses.

And now he quickly shewed the most glorious Star that ever shined in any Court; insomuch that all Nations prosecuted him with love and wonder, as fast as the King with Grace; and to his last he never lost any of his lustre.

His swiftness and nimbleness in rising, may be with less injury ascribed to a Vivacity, then any Ambition in his nature; since it is certain the Kings eagerness to advance him, so surprized his youth, that he seemed only to submit his shoulders, without resistance to such burdens as his Highness would be pleased to lay on him; and rather to be held up by the violent inclination of the King, then to climb up by any Art or industry of his own: yet once seated, he would not affront that judgement that raised him, by an unseasonable diffidence of himself, but endeavoured with an understanding boldness to manage those employments which his modesty would never suffer him to court.

During the Reign of his first Master, I cannot but say, he enjoyed an indifferent calm in his Fortune and Favour; for though there were some boisterous interruptions by the clamour of the people, yet shortly again their affections were as violent (and almost as senseless) toward him, as ever their accusations were before or after; Insomuch as the Chief Rulers among them performed frequent visits to him, when he was somewhat diseased in his health, and out of a zealous care of him, would have begot in him some jealousie, that his Physicians and nearest Attendants

about

about him, being (perhaps) of the ſame Religion with the King of Spain, had a purpoſe by poyſon to revenge ſome injuries (theſe people had conceived) in the right of that Nation. And here the Fortunes of our great Perſonages met, when they were both the Favourites of the Princes, and Darlings of the people. But their affection to the Duke, were but very ſhort lived.

And now 'tis ſeaſonable to ſay ſomewhat of the diſpoſition and ſpirit of this time, ſince the Diſparity of thoſe we treat of, will be in that diſcerned, and the Earl be found by ſo much to have the advantage, that there will be little need of conferring the particulars of their lives. 'Twas a huſie querulous froward time, ſo much degenerated from the purity of the former, that the people under pretences of Reformation, with ſome petulant diſcourſes of Liberty (which their great Impoſtors ſcattered among them, like falſe glaſſes to multiply their fears) began Abditos Principis ſenſus, & quid occultius parat exquirere: extended their enquiries even to the Chamber and private actions of the King himſelf, forgetting that truth of the Poet, --Nuſquam Libertas gratior extat, --quam ſub Rege pio: 'Twas ſtrange to ſee how men afflicted themſelves to find out calamities and miſchiefs, whileſt they borrowed the name of ſome great perſons to ſcandalize the State they lived in: A general diſorder throughout the whole body of the Commonwealth; nay the vital part periſhing, the Laws violated by the Judges, Religion prophaned by the Prelates, Hereſies crept into the Church and countenanced: and yet all this ſhall be quickly rectified without ſo much as being beholding to the King, or conſulting with the Clergy.

Surely had Petronius now lived, he would have found good cauſe to ſay, Noſtra regio tam præſentibus plena eſt numinibus, ut facilius poſſis deum quam hominem invenire. For my part, whether the frenzy was nouriſh'd in

the warm breſt of young men (who are commonly too much in love with their own time, to think it capable of reformation;) or whether it was fomented by riper heads, that had miſcarried in their propoſitions of advancement, and are violent in the ſucceſſes of Queen Elizabeth; *or whether it was only the revolution of time that had made them unconcerned in the loyal fears that governed ſixty years ſince, I ſhall not preſume to gueſs: but ſhall rather wiſh for the ſpirit and condition of that time, as he did for wars and commotions,* Quoniam acerbiſſima Dei flagella ſunt, quibus hominum pertinaciam punit, ea perpetua oblivione ſepelienda, potius quàm memoriæ mandanda eſſe.

King James *being no ſooner dead, but ſuch as had from his beginning impertinently endeavoured to ſupplant him, and found that he was ſo deeply rooted in his Soveraigns acceptance, that there ſhould be no ſhaking him with clamorous objections, found ſome means to commend over his condition and tranſcendent power, as they termed it, as a matter of publick conſequence to the people: and from this inſtant to his fatal end he ſtood as it were expoſed, notwithſtanding all the ſhelter of the Soveraigns regard, to all the calumnies and obloquies the impudent malice of the Rabble could fling on him: and in all their pretences of Reformation, as if their end were only his ſhame, not amendment, they rather cudgel then reprehend him. Of this wilde rage (not within the main purpoſe of an Apology) I ſhall give one or two inſtances, inſiſting on them only as they were mentioned in the indigeſted noiſe of the people, not as they were marſhalled with other imployments in any publick Declaration or Remonſtrance.*

There were two errours chiefly laid to his charge, and ſo eagerly urged, that in them he was almoſt concluded an Enemy to the King and Countrey; which certainly in the next Age will be conceived marvellous ſtrange Objections: the

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one being a strong Argument of his Worth, the other a piece of its Reward: the first was the plurality of Offices, though they were immediately conferred on him by the King, or else such as he was promoted to by his Majesties own allowance, to acquire to the which, there was no condition but his Majesty was a witness, if not a surety for the performance; and yet for the execution of them, never man studied more to apt himself, nor descended to meaner Arts to give general content. And here possibly it concerned his Mirth, to see his ambition prosecuted of some, who desired to ease him of this Guilt by undertaking his Trust.

The other was the preferment of his Kindred, upon whom his Majesty (delighting to give all gracious expression of his affection to the Duke) would (to enliven any branch that grew from the same Stock) confer both Honour and Living. And this surely had so little signification of offence in the Dukes conscience, that he thought he should have sinned against the Law of Nature, and a generous disposition, that it would have been an eternal brand to his name and memory, if being so seized of this great Kings favour, he had no regard but to his own advancement.

And 'tis not improbable, that his noble care of his Family, confirmed him in the estimation of his Master, who knew that all Fountains ought to bestow themselves upon their Neighbour-brooks, and could have hoped for little effects from his service, whose care was only directed for him[f].

Now whether the importunate clamour upon these two faults (whereof he found no regret, but comfort in himself) made him so to esteem of the popular discretion, and honesty; or whether he esteemed it the same ignominy to have his allegiance exalted with blasphemy, as (for attending the Prince out of Spain) he was called our Redeemer; or to have his mis-fortunes mistaken into disloyalty, when his

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Enterprizes succeeded not according to the impossible expectation of the people: certain it is, that all his later time he wholly neglected all compliance with them. 'Tis not unlikely he might wonder, that in all the scrutinous enquiry for Reformation, there was never the least blemish of dislike towards any great man, but such as were in the immediate regard and estimation of the King: As if all misdemeanours had been committed within the Verge of his Majesties own Chamber.

I shall not confer any of these particulars with the Earl. When the noise of the people had disquieted him into action from Court (which was his Orb) though he could not put off the place, or rather the Title of Command, he committed himself a most willing Pupil to the directions of such as were generally thought fit to manage affairs of that nature: and here it cannot be deny'd, but as he was a vigilant and observant Student in the contemplative part, so he improved the courage of the whole Army by his example.

And surely, there is no cause to doubt, he would in short time have made so glorious a progress in his profession, (however he seemed shaped for easier skirmishes) as the world should have seen that promptness and alacrity in his nature, that could happily have travelled in any path he could direct it, had he not been cut off by that execrable Treason, as makes all good men tremble, and Posterity shall start at it: and had he not been marvellously secured in the tranquillity of his own soul from any of that guilt the Rabble had conferred on him, it had been no hard matter to have fortified himself against the knife of a Villain, though it were sharpened in the lewdest forge of revenge the great Patron of Murther hath countenanced since the spilling of the first blood. But he that was unsafe only in the greatness of his own spirit, could not be perswaded to wear any privy-coat, but (which he never put off)

off) of a good conscience. And the same Providence that conveyed him into grace, with so different marks from other men, would not suffer him to fall, but by such a fate as may determine all the Monarchies of the world; and which had been seldome acted, but upon the most Eminent and Honourable Persons of their times.

And here again, he may be said to meet with the Earl, that they both died by the people, though by very different affections, which continued so prepostrous, as Justice upon the One (for Justice is the execution of the Law) was interpreted a Conspiracy; And Treason upon the Other, conceived Religion; And yet one had the Royal Sacrifice of his Soveraigns sorrow, which the other wanted.

In contriving and contracting his Friendships, he was provident and circumspect enough (as may appear by those Marriages in which he linked his House;) and in the observation of them he was so severe and real, as he wanted some of that, which is usually the poyson of Noble minds, Suspicion; looking no further into the affections of those he chose, then the Testimony of their own hearts, though this Confidence sometimes was like to prove dangerous to him. And here the Earl had the day too: For his friends were Skreens between him and envy, and his own infirmities taken from him, and imposed on them; when the Duke was so far from that ease, or being discharged of the burthen that belonged to them, that he was traduced with all the mistakes of all his friends, kindred, and dependants; as if he were the mischievous Agent, they only improvident and surprized Instruments.

'Tis true, they were neither of them much skilled in that Paradox of charity, loving their enemies: and yet the Dukes easiness to reconcilement, and too soon forgetting the circumstances of Grudges; betrayed him often to the injuries of such as had not the same spirit.

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Concerning the parts and endowments of his Mind, if the consideration of Learning extend it self not further then drudgery in Books, the Dukes imployments forbids to suspect him for any great Scholar: but if a nimble and fluent expression, and delivery of his Mind (and his discourse was of all Subjects) in a natural and proper dialect be considered, he was well letter'd: but if he had that Eloquence of Nature or Art, I am sure he wanted that other accident, (which the best Judge attributed to the Earl as an Eloquence that passed the other two) the pity and benevolence of his hearers; insomuch that his words and speeches were never entertained with that candour or common charity of Interpretation, as civilly belongs to all Delinquents: witness that speech in the fulness of his joy, he let fall to his Majesty in the behalf of his people, which was immediately perverted and carpt at, as an aggravation of his other imaginary and fantastick offences.

He was besides not only of an eminent affection to learning in conferring dignities and rewards upon the most learned men; either of which is seldome without judgement; and he was the Governour in a Province of Learning, which was an Argument he confuted the people by, when he suffered himself to be chosen Chancellour of the University of Cambridge, *even at the time when they had concluded his destruction, as a man odious to all Subjects.*

In his Liberalities and rewards of those he fancied, he was so chearfully magnificent, and so much at the mercy of his Dependants, that if they proved improvident or immodest in their Suits, the inconveniency and mischief was surely his; insomuch as he seemed wholly possest from himself, and to be only great for their use; and he had then so happy a bravery in deriving of his Favours, and conferred them with so many noble circumstances, as the manner was as obliging as the matter, and mens understandings oft-times as much puzzled as their gratitude.

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If the Earl sided him here, his bounty fell upon more unthrifty men; for there are many Families owe their large possessions only to the openness of the Dukes hand, though much be lost too in the ingratitudes of the Receivers.

But that which shined with most lustre in him, and which indeed flowed in his nature much above its proportion in other men, was an admirable affability and gentleness to all men. And this was the pomp and glory of all his Titles; Insomuch as though his Memory were a place so taken up with high thoughts, and unlikely to have any room for matters of so small importance; he was ever known to entertain his younger acquaintance with that familiarity, as if they had been stairs by which he ascended to his greatness.

He had besides such a tenderness and compassion in his nature, that such as think the Laws dead if they are not severely executed, censured him for being too merciful; but his charity was grounded upon a wiser Maxime of State: Non minus turpe Principi multa Supplicia; quàm Medico multa Funera. *And he believed doubtless, that Hanging was the worst use man could be put to.*

And now, me thinks, to believe a man dress't in all these real ornaments of Honour, could be an Enemy to the Publick, to his Country, is as ingenuous as to believe a man of a solemn friendlyness to ten thousand men, and of a resolved hatred to mankind.

Of all imputations, that was the most unskilful, which accused him of a purpose and design to enrich himself. Certainly that was never in his vows; and possibly the Auditors of his Revenues do not find his Estate so much increased from the time of his first Master, though he enjoyed a glorious Harvest of almost four years, which if it had been brought in to his own use, could not but have made an envious addition. Since then, till their Evenings, these two great Persons can hardly meet:

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Let not the violence of their deaths reconcile them, since the same consideration might as well unite the great King of France, *and the Marshal* Byron, *and many other of more different conditions.*

He that shall continue this Argument further, may haply begin his Parallel after their deaths; and not unjustly: He may say, that they were both as mighty in Obligations as ever any Subjects, and both their Memories and Families as unrecompenced by such as they had raised. He may tell you of the Clients that burnt the Pictures of the one, and defaced the Arms of the other, lest they might be too long suspected for their Dependants, and find dis-advantage by being honest to their Memories. He may tell you of some that grew strangers to their houses, lest they might find the Tract of their own foot-steps, that might upbraid them with their former attendance. He may say, that both their Memories shall have a reverend savour with all Posterity; and all Nations. He may tell you many more particulars, which I dare not do.

CRUX : FIDEI
COLI" CULA

A VIEW OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF George Villiers, Duke of *Buckingham.*

THE LIFE and DEATH OF *GEORGE VILLIERS*, Late Duke of *Buckingham.*

I Determine to write the Life and the End, the Nature and the Fortunes of *GEORGE VILLIERS*, late Duke of *Buckingham*: (esteeming him worthy to be Registred among the great examples of Time and Fortune:) which yet I have not undertaken out of any wanton pleasure in mine own Pen; nor truly, without often pondering with my self before-hand what Censures I might incur. For I would not be ignorant by long observation, both abroad and at home; That every where all greatness of power and Favour is circumvested with much prejudice. And that it is not easie for Writers to research with due distinction (as they ought) in the actions of eminent

Perſonages, both how much may have been blemiſhed by the envy of others, and what was corrupted by their own felicity; unleſs, after the period of their Splendour, which muſt needs dazle their beholders, and perhaps oftentimes themſelves, we could as in ſome Scenes of the fabulous Age, excite them again, and confer a while with their naked Ghoſts. However, for my part, I have no ſervile or ignoble end in my preſent labour, which may on either ſide reſtrain or embaſe the freedome of my poor judgement. I will therefore ſteer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his Cradle through the deep and lubrick waves of State and Court, till he was ſwallowed in the Gulf of fatality.

I find him born in the year of our Saviour 1592. on the 20th. of *Auguſt*, at *Brookeby* in *Leiceſterſhire*, where his Anceſtors had chiefly continued about the ſpace of 400 years, rather without obſcurity, then with any great luſtre, after they had long before been ſeated in *Kinalton* in the County of *Nottingham*. He was the third Son of *George Villiers* Knight, and *Mary* late Counteſs of *Buckingham*, and Daughter to *Anthony Beaumont* of *Coleorton*, Eſquire, names on either ſide well known of Ancient extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who in a wilde Pamphlet which he publiſhed, beſides other pityful Malignities, would ſcant allow him to be a Gentleman. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his firſt Rudiments, till the years of ten; and from thence ſent to *Billiſden* School in the ſame County, where he was taught the principles of Muſick, and other ſlight Literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his Father died. Then his beautiful and provident Mo-

Mother, (for those Attributes will not be denyed her) took him home to her house at *Goodby*, where she had him in especial care; so as he was first, (as we may say) a Domestick Favourite: But finding him (as it should seem) by nature little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with conversative Qualities and Ornaments of youth, as Dancing, Fencing, and the like; Not without aim then, perchance, (though far off) at a Courtiers life: To which lessons, he had such a dexterous proclivity, as his Teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness; to the end that his Brothers, who were under the same training, might hold pace with him. About the age of eighteen, he travelled into *France*, where he improved himself well in the Language, for one that had so little Grammatical foundation; but more in the exercises of that Nobility, for the space of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms (the ordinary disease of Travellers.) After his return, he passed again one whole year (as before) at *Goodby*, under the Wing and Counsels of his Mother: And then was forward to become a Suiter at *London* to Sir *Roger Ashton*'s Daughter, a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King *James*, and Master of the Robes. About which times, he falls into intrinsecal society with Sir *John Greham*, then one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Privy-Chamber: who, I know not upon what Luminaries he spyed in his face, disswaded him from Marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to wooe Fortune in Court. Which advice sank well into his fancy; for within some while, the King had taken by certain Glances, (whereof the first was at *Apthorpe*, in a Progress) such liking of his

perſon, that he reſolved to make him a Maſterpiece, and to mould him, as it were, Platonically to his own *Idea*. Neither was his Majeſty content only to be the Architect of his fortune, without putting his Gracious hand likewiſe to ſome part of the work it ſelf. Inſomuch as it pleaſed him to deſcend, and to avale his goodneſs, even to the giving of his foreſaid friend Sir *John Greham* ſecret directions, how, and by what degrees he ſhould bring him into favour. But this was quickly diſcovered by him, who was then as yet in ſome poſſeſſion of the Kings heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous then a Favourite, eſpecially towards the wayning time and ſuſpect of faciety. So as many Arts were uſed to diſcuſs the beginnings of new affection, (which lye out of my Road, being a part of another mans Story.) All which notwithſtanding, (for I omit things intervenient) there is conveyed to Mr. *Villiers* an intimation of the Kings pleaſure to wait, and to be ſworn his ſervant; And ſhortly after, his Cup-bearer at large; And the Summer following he was admitted in Ordinary. After which time Favours came thick upon him, (liker main Showers, then ſprinkling Drops or Dews) for the next St. *Georges*-day he was Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Kings Bed-Chamber; and the very ſame day had an annual Penſion given him, for his better ſupport, of one thouſand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At *New-years-tide* following, the King choſe him Maſter of the Horſe. After this he was inſtalled of the moſt Noble Order. And in the next *Auguſt* he created him Baron of *Whaddon*, and Viſcount *Villiers*. In *January* of the ſame year, he was advanced Earl of *Buckingham*, and

and ſworn here of his Majeſties Privy-Counſel; as if a Favourite vvere not ſo before. The *March* enſuing, he attended the King into *Scotland*, and vvas likevviſe ſworn a Counſellor in that Kingdome; vvhere (as I have been inſtructed by unpaſſionate men) he did carry himſelf vvith ſingular ſweetneſs and temper; vvhich I held very credible, for it behoved him, being new in favour, and ſucceeding one of their own, to ſtudy a moderate ſtyle among thoſe generous Spirits. About *New-yers-tide* after his return from thence (for thoſe beginnings of years vvere very propitious unto him, as if Kings did chuſe remarkable dayes to inaugurate their Favours, that they may appear acts as vvell of the Times, as of the Will) he vvas Created Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admiral of *England*, Chief Juſtice in *Eyre* of all the Parks and Forreſts on the South-ſide of *Trent*, Maſter of the Kings-Bench Office, (none of the unprofitable pieces) Head-Steward of *Weſtminſter*, and Conſtable of *Windſor*-Caſtle.

Here I muſt breath a vvhile to ſatisfie ſome that perhaps might otherwiſe vvonder at ſuch an Accumulation of Benefits, like a kind of Embroidering or liſting of one Favour upon another. Certainly, the hearts of great Princes, if they be conſidered as it vvere in abſtract, vvithout the neceſſity of States, and Circumſtances of time, being, beſides their natural extent, moreover, once opened and dilated vvith affection, can take no full and proportionate pleaſure in the exerciſe of any narrow Bounty. And albeit at firſt they give only upon choice and love of the perſon, yet vvithin a vvhile themſelves likewiſe begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, no leſs then Pa-

rents do their Children. But let us go on.

For these Offices and Dignities already rehearsed, and these of the like nature which I shall after set down in their place, were (as I am ready to say) but the facings or fringes of his Greatness, in comparison of that trust which his most Gracious Master did cast upon him in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, when he made him the chief Concomitant of his Heir apparent, and only Son, our dear Soveraign, now being, in a journey of much Adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacy) had been before not communicated with any other of his Majesties most reserved Counsellors at home, being carried with great closeness, liker a business of Love then State; as it was in the first intendment. Now, because the whole Kingdome stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a Prince; I have been the more desirous to research with some diligence, the several passages of the said Journey, and the particular Accidents of any moment in their way. They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tuesday the 18th. of *February*, from the Marquess his house of late purchase, at *Newhall* in *Essex*, setting out with disguised Beards, and with borrowed Names of *Thomas* and *John Smith*. And then attended with none, but Sir *Richard Greham*, Master of the Horse to the Marquess, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the River against *Gravesend*, for lack of silver, they were fain to give the Ferry-man a piece of two and twenty shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness, that so good Gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrel beyond Sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the

the Officers of the Town vvith vvhat had befallen him, vvho ſent preſently Poſt for their ſtay at *Rochester*, through vvhich they vvere paſſed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the Hill beyond that City, they vvere ſomewhat perplexed by eſpying the *French* Embaſſador, vvith the Kings Coach and other attending him, vvhich made them baulk the beaten Road, and teach Poſt-hackneys to leap Hedges. At *Canterbury*, vvhither ſome voice (as it ſhould ſeem) vvas run on before, the Mayor of the Town came himſelf to ſeize on them, as they vvere taking freſh Horſes, in a blunt manner, alledging firſt a Warrant to ſtop them from the Councel, next from Sir *Lewis Lewkner* Maſter of the Ceremonies, and laſtly from Sir *Henry Manwaring*, then Lieutenant of *Dover*-Caſtle. At all vvhich confuſed fiction, the Marqueſs had no leaſure to laugh; but thought beſt to diſmask his Beard, and ſo told him, that he vvas going covertly vvith ſuch ſlight company, to take a ſecret view (being Admiral) of the forwardneſs of his Majeſties Fleet, vvhich vvas then in preparation on the Narrow Seas: This, vvith much ado, did ſomewhat handſomely heal the diſguiſement. On the vvay afterwards, the Baggage Poſt-Boy, vvho had been at Court, got (I know not how) a glimmering vvho they vvere; but his mouth vvas eaſily ſhut. To *Dover*, through bad Horſes, and thoſe pretty impediments, they came not before ſix at night; vvhere they found Sir *Francis Cottington*, then Secretary to the Prince, now Baron of *Hanworth*, and Mr. *Endymion Porter*, vvho had been ſent before to provide a Veſſel for their Tranſportation. The foreſaid Knight vvas conjoyn'd, for the nearneſs of his place, on the Prin-

Princes affairs; and for his long Residence in the Court of *Spain*, vvhere he had gotten singular credit even vvith that cautious Nation, by the temper of his Carriage. Mr. *Porter* vvas taken in, not only as a Bed-chamber servant of Confidence to his Highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful Instrument, for his natural skil in the *Spanish* Tongue. And these five vvere at the first the vvhole *Parada* of this Journey. The next morning, for the night vvas tempestuous, on the 19th. of the foresaid Moneth, taking ship at *Dover* about six of the Clock, they landed the same day at *Bulloyn* in *France*, near two hours after Noon; reaching *Monstruell* that night (like men of dispatch;) and *Paris* the second day after, being Friday the one and twentieth. But some three Posts before, they had met vvith two *German* Gentlemen that came newly from *England*, vvhere they had seen at *New-market* the Prince and the Marques taking Coach together vvith the King, and retaining such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but vvere out-faced by Sir *Richard Greham*, vvho vvould needs perswade them they vvere mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter, for the very strangeness of the thing it self; and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a Prince and Favourite so suddenly Metamorphosed into Travellers, vvith no greater train, vvas enough to make any man living unbelieve his five senses. And this, I suppose, next the assurance of their own vvell resolved Carriage against a new accident, to have been their best Anchor in all such Incounters. At *Paris* the Prince spent one vvhole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a famous City

ty and Court, vvhich vvas a Neighbour to his future Eſtates. But for the better vailing of their Viſages, his Highneſs and the Marqueſs bought each of them a Perriwig, ſomewhat to over-ſhadow their fore-heads. Of the King they got a ſight after dinner in a Gallery, vvhere he vvas ſolacing himſelf vvith familiar pleaſures. And of the Queen-Mother as ſhe vvas at her own Table; in neither place deſcryed, no not by *Monſieur Cadinet*, vvho ſaw them in both, and had been lately Ambaſſadour in *England*. Towards Evening, by a meer chance, in appearance, though under-lined vvith a Providence, they had a full ſight of the Queen *Infanta*, and of the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, vvith other great Ladies, at the practiſe of a Maſquing Dance, vvhich vvas then in preparation; having over-heard two Gentlemen vvho vvere tending towards that ſight, after vvhom they preſſed, and vvere let in by the Duke *De Mont Baſon*, the Queens Lord Chamberlain, out of humanity to ſtrangers, vvhen divers of the *French* vvent by. Note here, even vvith the point of a Diamond, by vvhat oblique ſteps, and inimaginable preparatives, the high Diſpoſer of Princes Affections doth ſometimes contrive the ſecrets of his vvill. For by this caſual curioſity, it fell out, that vvhen afterwards the Marriage came in motion between our Soveraign Lord, and the aforeſaid moſt Amiable Princeſs; it muſt needs be (howſoever unknown) no ſmall ſpur to the Treaty, that ſhe hath not beſore been altogether a ſtranger to his Eye.

From the next day, vvhen they departed at three of the Clock in the morning from *Paris*, the 23. of *February*, vvere ſpent ſix dayes to *Bayon*, the laſt Town of *France*, having before at *Bourdeaux*, bought

bought them five riding-Coats, all of one colour and fashion, in a kind of Noble simplicity: Where Sir *Francis Cottington* was imployed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the Duke *De Espernon*, telling him they were Gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little Courtship; who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial man in the practices of the World) have pierced somewhat deeper then their outside.

They were now entred into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their Innes. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage (if I may insert it by the way among more serious:) There was near *Bayon*, an Herd of Goats with their young ones, upon which sight, the said Sir *Richard Greham* tells the Marquess, he would snap one of the Kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging. Which the Prince over-hearing, Why *Richard*, sayes he, do you think you may practise here your old tricks again upon the borders? Upon which words, they [illegible]t gave the Goat Herd good contentment, and then while the Marquess and his servant (being both on foot) were chasing the Kid about the stack, the Prince from Horse back killed him in the Head with a *Scottish* Pistol. Set this Fear for a Journal Parenthesis, which yet may shew how his Highness even in such slight and sportful damage had a Noble sense of just dealing.

At *Bayon*, the Count *De Gramont*, Governour of that jealous Key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be Gentlemen of much more worth then their habits be-

bewrayed; yet he let them courteouſly paſs. And four dayes after they arrived at *Madrid*, being *Wedneſday* the fifth of *March*. Thus have I briefly run over tranſcurſions, as if my Pen had been poſting with them. Which done, I ſhall not need to relate the affluence of young Nobles and others from hence into *Spain*, after the voice of our Prince his being there had been quickly noiſed, and at length believed; neither will I ſtay to conſider the Arts of *Rome*, where now all Engines were whetted (though by the Divine bleſſing very vainly) when they had gotten a Prince of Great *Brittain* upon Catholick ground, as they uſe to call it.

This, and the whole matter of Negotiation there, the open entertainments, the ſecret working, the Apprehenſions on both ſides, the appearance on neither; And in ſumme, all the circumſtances and reſpect of Religion and State intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a Royal Hiſtory, or a Councel-Table, then a ſingle Life. Yet I cannot omit ſome things which intervened at the meeting of two *Pleiades*, me thinks not unlike that which Aſtrologers call a Conjunction of Planets, of no very benign Aſpect the one to the other; I mean, the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, and the *Conde d' Olivares*. They had ſome ſharper, and ſome milder differences, which might eaſily happen in ſuch an intervene of Grandees both vehement on the parts which they ſwayed. But the moſt remarkable was upon a ſuppoſition of the *Condes*, (as fancies are cheap) that the Marqueſs had intimated unto her ſome hopes of the Prince his Converſion; which coming into debate, the Marqueſs ſo roundly diſavowed this guilded dream, as *Olivares* alledged he had given him *La-*

Men-

Mentida, and thereupon forms a Complement to the Prince himself; which *Buckingham* denying, and yet *Olivares* persisting in the said Complement, the Marques, though now in strange hands, yet seeing both his Honour and the Truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replyed with some heat, that the *Condes* asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himself tyed in terms of a Gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the harshest point that occurred between them; which that it went so far, was not the Dukes fault; nor his fault neither, (as it should seem) that it went no further.

There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The *Conde d' Olivares* tells the Marques of a certain flying noise, that the Prince did plot to be secretly gone: To which the Marques gave a well temper'd answer, that though Love had made his Highness steal out of his own Countrey, yet Fear would never make him run out of *Spain* in other manner then should become a Prince of his Royal and generous Vertues.

In *Spain* they stayed near eight entire moneths, during all which times, who but *Buckingham* lay at home under millions of maledictions? Which yet, at the Prince his safe arrival in the *West*, did die, and vanish here and there into praises and Elogies, according to the contrary motions of popular waves. And now to summe up the fruit of the Journey, discourses ran thus among the cleerest Observers. It was said, that the Prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his Religion, had by

by the ſight of Forraign Courts, and obſervations of the different Natures of people, and Rules of Government, much excited and awaked his ſpirits, and corroborated his judgement. And as for the Marqueſs, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained: Firſt, he was returned with encreaſe of Title, having there been made Duke, by Patent ſent him, which was the higheſt degree whereof an *Engliſh* Subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though cloſer; for by ſo long and ſo private; and ſo various conſociation with a Prince of ſuch excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own Fortune and Greatneſs; whereas otherwiſe the eſtate of a Favourite is at the beſt but a Tenant at will, and rarely tranſmitted. But concerning the *Spaniſh* Commiſſion, which in publick conceit was the main ſcope of the Journey, that was left in great ſuſpence, and after ſome time utterly laid aſide; which threw the Duke amongſt free Wits (whereof we have a rank Soil) under divers Cenſures. The moſt part were apt to believe, that he had brought down ſome deep diſtaſte from *Spain*, which exaſperated his Councels; Neither was there wanting ſome other, that thought him not altogether void of a little Ambition, to ſhew his power either to knit or diſſolve. Howſoever, the whole Scene of affairs was changed from *Spain* to *France*; there now lay the proſpective. Which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of State being ever attributed to the powerfulleſt under Princes (as the manner is where the eminency of one obſcureth the reſt;) the Duke became ſuddenly and ſtrangely Gracious among the multitude, and was even in Parliament highly exalted; ſo as he

he did ſeem for a time to have overcome that natural Incompatibility, which in the experience of all Ages hath been noted between the Vulgar and the Soveraign Favour. But this was no more then a meer bubble or blaſt, and like an Ephemeral fit of applauſe, as eſtſoon will appear in the ſequel and train of his life. I had almoſt forgotten, that after his return from *Spain*, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, (which is as it were a ſecond Admiralty) and Steward likewiſe of the Mannour of *Hampton*-Court; Dignities and Offices ſtill growing of truſt or profit: And the King now giving not only out of a beneficent diſpoſition, but a very habitual and confirmed cuſtome.

One year, ſix moneths, two dayes after the joyful reception of the Prince his Son from *Spain*, King *James* of immortal memory (among all the lovers and admirers of Divine and Humane Sapience) accompliſhed at *Theobalds* his own dayes on Earth. Under whom the Duke had run a long Courſe of calm and ſmooth proſperity: I mean long, for the ordinary life of favour; and the more notable, becauſe it had been without any viſible Eclipſe or Wave in himſelf, amidſt divers variations in others.

The moſt important and preſſing care of a new and Vigorous King, was his Marriage, for mediate eſtabliſhment of the Royal Line. Wherein the Duke having had an eſpecial hand, he was ſent to conduce hither the moſt Lovely and Vertuous Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, youngeſt Daughter to the Great *Henry* of *Bourbon*, of whom his Majeſty (as hath been ſaid) had an ambulatory view in his Travels, (like a ſtolen taſte of ſomething that pro-

provoketh appetite.) He was accompanied with none of our Peers but the Earl of *Mountgomery*, now Lord Chamberlain, a Noble Gentleman, of truſty, free, and open nature; and truly no unſuitable Aſſociate, for that he himſelf likewiſe, at the beginning of King *James*, had run his Circle in the wheeling viciſſitude of Favour.

And here I muſt crave leave in ſuch of high quality, or other of particular note, as ſhall fall under my pen, (whereof this is the firſt) not to let them paſs without their due Character, being part of my profeſſed ingenuity.

Now this Ambaſſy, though it had a private ſhew, being charged with more formality then matter, (for all the eſſential Conditions were before concluded) could howſoever want no Ornaments, or bravery to adorn it. Among which, I am near thinking it worthy of a little remembrance, that the Duke, one ſolemn day, Gorgeouſly clad in a ſuit all over-ſpread with Diamonds, and having loſt one of them of good value, perchance as he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty motion, it was ſtrangely recovered again the next morning in a Court full of Pages: Such a diligent attendant was Fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair diſcharge, all Civil Honours having ſhowred on him before, there now fell out great occaſions to draw forth his ſpirits into action, a breach firſt with *Spain*, and not long after with *France* it ſelf, notwithſtanding ſo ſtreight an affinity, ſo lately treated with the one, and actually accompliſhed with the other. As if indeed (according to that pleaſant Maxime of State) Kingdoms were never married. This muſt of neceſſity involve

the Duke in buſineſs enough to have over-ſet a leſſer Veſſel, being the next Commander under the Crown, of Ports and Ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace thoſe Overtures of publick employment. For at the Parliament at *Oxford*, his Youth and want of Experience in Maritime ſervice, had ſomewhat been ſhrewdly touched, even before the ſluces and floodgates of popular liberty were yet ſet open. So as to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his Majeſties untroubled and ſerene Commands, even in a tempeſtuous time. Now the men fell a rubbing of Armour, which a great while had layn oyled: The Magazines of Munition are viewed: The Officers of Remains called to account: frequent Councels of War, as many private conferences with expert Sea-men, a Fleet in preparation for ſome attempt upon *Spain*.

The Duke himſelf perſonally imployed to the States General; and with him joyned in full Commiſſion the Earl of *Holland*, a Peer both of ſingular grace and ſolidity, and of all ſweet and ſerviceable virtue for publick uſe.

Theſe two Nobles, after a dangerous paſſage from *Harwich*, wherein three of their Ships were foundred, arrived the fifth day at the *Hague* in *Holland*. Here they were to enter a treaty, both with the States themſelves, and with the Miniſters of divers allied and confederate Princes, about a common diverſion, for the recovery of the *Palatinate* where the King's only Siſters Dowry had been raviſhed by the *German Eagle*, mixed with *Spaniſh* Feathers: A Princeſs reſplendent in darkneſs, and whoſe virtues were born within the chance, but without the power of Fortune.

Here

Here it were injurious to over-ſlip a Noble act in the Duke during this Imployment, which I muſt, for my part; celebrate above all his Expences: There was a Collection of certain rare Manuſcripts, exquiſitely written in Arabick, and ſought in the moſt remote parts by the diligence of *Erpenius*, the moſt excellent Linguiſt: Theſe had been left to the Widow of the ſaid *Erpenius*, and were upon ſale to the *Jeſuits* at *Antwerp*, liquoriſh Chapmen of ſuch Ware. Whereof the Duke, getting knowledge by his worthy and learned Secretary Doctor *Maſon*, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor Widow for them five hundred pounds, a ſum above their weight in ſilver; and a mixed act both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being out of his natural Element. Theſe were they, which after his death were as Nobly preſented, as they had been bought, to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, by the Dutcheſs Dowager, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood, by the aforeſaid Doctor *Maſon*, her Husband's intention, who had a purpoſe likewiſe (as I am well inſtructed) to raiſe in the ſaid Univerſity (whereof he was Chancellor) a fair Caſe for ſuch Monuments, and to furniſh it with other choice Collections from all parts, of his own charge: perchance in ſome emulation of that famous Treaſury of knowledge at *Oxford*, without parallel in the Chriſtian World. But let me reſume the file of my Relation, which this Object of Books (beſt agreeable to my courſe of life) hath a little interrupted.

The aforeſaid Negotiation, though proſecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a Month before the Duke's return from his excentricity, (for ſo I account Favorites abroad) and then at home he met no good news of the

Cadiz attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had ſpent much ſolicitude *ex officio*, yet it principally failed (as was thought) by late ſetting out, and by ſome contrariety of Weather at Sea; whereby the particular deſign took vent before hand, a point hardly avoidable in actions of noiſe, eſpecially where the great *Indian* Key to all Cabinets is working.

Not long after this, the King pondering in his Wiſdom the weight of his Forreign Affairs, found it fit to call a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: this was that Aſſembly, where there appeared a ſudden and marvellous converſion in the Duke's Caſe, from the moſt exalted, (as he had been both in another Parliament, and in common Voice before) to the moſt depreſſed now; as if his condition had been capable of no Mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was ſo freſhly returned out of the *Low-Country Provinces*, out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the ſingle example that our Annals have yielded, from the time of *William de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, under *Henry* the Sixth, of ſuch a concurrence of two extreams, withinſo ſhort time, by moſt of the ſame Commenders and Diſprovers, (like the natural breath of man, that can both heat and cool) would require no ſleight memorial of the particular Motives of ſo great a change, but that the whole Caſe was diſperſed by the Knights of Shires, and Burgeſſes of Towns, through all the Veins of the Land, and may be taken by any, at pleaſure, out of the Parliament Regiſters. Belides that, I obſerve it not uſual among the beſt patterns, to ſtuff the report of particular lives with matter of publick record,

record, but rather to dive (as I ſhall endeavour, before I wipe my Pen) into ſecret and proper afflictions; howſoever, ſomewhat I muſt note in this ſtrange *Phainomenon*. It began from a travelled Doctor of Phyſick, of bold ſpirit, and of able Elocution; who being returned one of the Burgeſſes (which was not ordinary in any of his Coat) fell by a Metaphorical Alluſion) tranſlated from his own Faculty, to propound the Duke's as a main cauſe of divers infirmities in the State, or near that purpoſe; being ſure enough of Seconds, after the firſt On-ſet, in the Lower Houſe. As for any cloſe intelligence that they had before hand with ſome in the Higher, (though that likewiſe was ſaid) I want ground to affirm, or believe it more then a general conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongſt thoſe that were neareſt the object, which we ſee ſo familiar, both in natural and moral cauſes. The Duke's Anſwers to his Appeachments, in number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched: and though his heart was big, yet they all favour of an humble ſpirit, one way, equitable conſideration, which could not but poſſeſs every vulgar conceit, and ſomewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and ſifting of near fourteen years of ſuch power and favour, all that came out, could not be expected to be pure and white, and fine Meal, but muſt needs have withal among it a certain mixture of *Pudar* and *Bran*, in this lower age of humane fragility. Howſoever this Tempeſt did only ſhake, and not rent his Sails. For his Majeſty conſidering that almoſt all his Appeachments were without the compaſs of his own Reign; and moreover, That nothing alledged againſt him, had, or could be proved by

Oath, according to the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons; which the Duke himſelf did not forget in the Preface of his Anſwers. And laſtly, having had ſuch experience of his fidelity, and obſervance abroad, where he was chief in truſt, and in the participations of all hazards, found himſelf engaged in honour, and in the ſenſe of his own natural goodneſs, to ſupport him at home from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his higheſt teſtimonies of divers important imputations, whereof the truth is beſt known to his Majeſty while he was Prince.

The Summer following this Parliament (after an Embarque of our Trading Ships in the River of *Bourdeaux*, and other points of Sovereign affront) there did ſucceed the action of *Rheez*, wherein the Duke was perſonally imployed on either Element, both as Admiral and General, with hope in that ſervice to recover the publick good will, which he ſaw by his own example might quickly be won and loſt. This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a Noble Gentleman of much learning, and active ſpirits, himſelf the fitter to do it right, which in truth it greatly wanted, having found more honourable cenſure, even from ſome of the *French* Writers, then it had generally amongſt our ſelves at home.

Now, becauſe the ſaid work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but ſweep the way with a few notes, and theſe only touching the Duke's own deportment in that Iſland, the proper ſubject of my quill; for in the general ſurvey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief ſo equally diſtributed on both ſides, as if Fortune had meant we ſhould quickly be Friends again. Wherein let their

names

names that were bravely loſt, be rather memorized in the full table of time; for my part, I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent deſcription of miſeries. The Duke's carriage was ſurely Noble throughout: to the Gentlemen of fair reſpect, bountiful to the Souldier, according to any ſpecial value which he ſpied in any, tender and careful of thoſe that were hurt, of unqueſtionable Courage in himſelf, and rather fearful of Fame, then Danger: In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the ſuccours which he expected did fail him; but the leſs he ſhewed without, the more it wrought intrinſecally, according to the nature of ſuppreſſed paſſions. For certain it is, that to his often mentioned Secretary, Doctor *Maſon*, whom he laid in Pallet near him, for natural Ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the abſence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and paſſionate Eruptions, proteſting, That never his Diſpatches to divers Princes, nor the great buſineſs of a Fleet, of an Army, of a Siege, of a Treaty, of War, of Peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not ſo much break his repoſe, as a conceit, That ſome at home, under his Majeſty, of whom he had well deſerved, were now content to forget him; but whom he meant, I know not, and am loth to rove at conjectures.

Of their two Forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other; but in the general Town he maintained a ſeiſure and poſſeſſion of the whole three full months, and eighteen days; and at the firſt deſcent on ſhore, he was not immured within a wooden Veſſel, but he did countenance the landing in his long Boat. Where ſucceeded

ſuch a defeat of near two hundred Horſe (and theſe not (by his gheſs) mounted in haſte, but the moſt part Gentlemen of Family, and great reſolution) ſeconded with two thouſand Foot, as all circumſtances well ballanced on either ſide, may ſurely endure a compariſon with any of the braveſt Impreſſions in ancient time. In the iſſue of the whole buſineſs, he ſeems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conſcience, having brought of that with him to Camp, perchance, too much from a Court, where Fortune had never deceived him: Beſides, we muſt conſider him yet but rude in the profeſſion of Arms, though greedy of Honour, and zealous in the Cauſe.

At his return to *Plimouth*, a ſtrange accident befell him, perchance not ſo worthy of memory for it ſelf, as for that it ſeemeth to have been a kind of prelude to his final period.

The now Lord *Goring*, a Gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his Friend, ſends to the Duke, in all expedition, an expreſs Meſſenger, with adviſement to aſſure his own Perſon, by declining the ordinary Road to *London*, for that he had credible Intelligence of a plot againſt his life, to be put in execution upon him in his ſaid journey towards the Court. The Duke meeting the Meſſenger on the way, read the Letter, and ſmothering it in his pocket, without the leaſt imaginable apprehenſion, rides forwards; His company being about that time not above ſeven or eight in number, and thoſe no otherwiſe provided for their defence, then with ordinary ſwords. After this, the Duke had advanced three miles before he met with an old Woman, near a Town in the Road, who demanded, Whether the Duke were in the com-

company? and bewraying ſome eſpecial occaſion to be brought to him, was lead to his Horſe-ſide; where ſhe told him, that in the very next Town where he was to paſs, ſhe had heard ſome deſperate men vow his death: And thereupon would have directed him about by a ſurer way. This old Womans caſual acceſs, joyn'd with that deliberate advertiſement which he had before from his Noble Friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the ſaid Letter, and all the circumſtances, with his Company; who were joyntly upon conſent, that the Woman had adviſed him well. Notwithſtanding all which importunity, he reſolved not to wave his way upon this reaſon, perhaps more generous then provident, that if, as he ſaid, he ſhould but once, by ſuch a diverſion, make his Enemy believe he were afraid of danger, he ſhould never live without. Hereupon his young Nephew, Lord Viſcount *Fielding*, being then in his Company, out of a Noble ſpirit, beſought him, that he would at leaſt honour him with his Coat, and blew Ribbon thorow the Town, pleading that his Uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole Family, was of all things under Heaven the moſt precious unto him; and undertaking ſo to geſture and muffle up himſelf in his hood, as the Duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none ſhould diſcern him from him; and ſo he ſhould be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which ſweet Propoſition, the Duke caught him in his arms, and kiſſed him; yet would not, as he ſaid, accept of ſuch an offer in that caſe from a Nephew, whoſe life he tendred as much as himſelf; and ſo liberally rewarded the poor Creature for her good will. After ſome ſhort directions to his Company, how they

they ſhould carry themſelves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no ſooner entred into the Town, but a ſcambling Souldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging, or (perchance ſomewhat worſe) in a drunken faſhion; yet a Gentleman of his train that rode a pretty diſtance behind him, conceiving by the premiſſes it might be a beginning of ſome miſchievous intent, ſpurred up his Horſe, and with a violent ruſh ſevered him from the Duke, who with the reſt went on quickly through the Town: neither, for ought I can hear, was there any further enquiry into that practice, the Duke peradventure thinking it wiſdome not to reſent diſcontentments too deep.

At his return to the Court he found no change in Faces, but ſmothered murmurings for the loſs of ſo many gallant Gentlemen; againſt which his friends did oppoſe in their diſcourſes the chance of War, together with a gentle expectation for want of ſupply in time.

After the complaints in Parliament, and the unfortunate iſſue at *Rhee*, the Dukes fame did ſtill remain more and more in obloquy among the maſs of people, whoſe judgements are only reconciled with good ſucceſſes: ſo as he ſaw plainly that he muſt abroad again to rectifie by his beſt endeavour under the publick Service, his own reputation. Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at Sea. And in the mean while, he was not unmindfull in his civil courſe, to caſt an eye upon the wayes, to win unto him ſuch as have been of principal credit in the Lower Houſe of Parliament, applying lenitives, or ſubducting from that part where he knew

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the humors were ſharpeſt: amidſt which thoughts, he was ſurprized with a fatal ſtroke, written in the black Book of neceſſity.

There was a younger Brother of mean fortunes, born in the County of *Suffolk*, by name *John Felton*, by nature of a deep melancholy, ſilent and gloomy conſtitution, but bred in the active way of a Souldier: and thereby raiſed to the place of Lieutenant, to a Foot-Company, in the Regiment of Sir *James Ramſey*. This was the man that cloſely within himſelf had conceived the Dukes death. But what may have been the immediate or greateſt motive of that fellonious conception, is even yet in the Clouds.

It was ſaid at firſt, that he had been ſtung with a denial of his Captains place, who died in *England*; whereof thus much indeed is true, that the Duke, before he would inveſt him in the ſaid place, adviſing firſt (as his manner was) with his Colonel; he found him to interpoſe for one *Powel*, his own Lieutenant, a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and according to Military cuſtome, the place was good, that the Lieutenant of the Colonels Company might well pretend to the next vacant Captainſhip under the ſame Regiment. Which *Felton* acknowledged to be in it ſelf very uſual and equitable, beſides the ſpecial merit of the perſon. So as the aforeſaid conceit of ſome rancour harboured upon this denial had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a Knight of the ſame County (whom the Duke had lately taken into ſome good degree of favour) and the ſaid *Felton*, there had been ancient quarrels not yet well healed, which might perhaps lye feſtring in his breſt, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect.

effect. But that carries ſmall probability, that *Felton* would ſo deface his own act, as to make the Duke no more then an oblique ſacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third perſon.

Therefore the truth is, that either to honeſt a deed after it was done, or to ſlumber his conſcience in the doing, he ſtudied other incentives, alledging, not three hours before his execution, to Sir *Richard Greſham*, two only inducements thereof. The firſt, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous Book written by one *Eggleſtone* a *Scottiſh* Phyſician, which made the Duke one of the foulеſt Monſters upon the earth; and indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Chriſtian Court, and under ſo vertuous a King; but of any room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the leaſt ſemblance of truth. The ſecond, was, the Remonſtrance it ſelf of the Lower Houſe of Parliament, againſt him, which perchance he thought the faireſt cover, ſo he put in the ſecond place. Whatſoever were the true motive, which I think none can determine but the Prince of darkneſs it ſelf; he did thus proſecute the effect.

In a by-Cutlers Shop on *Tower-hill*, he bought a ten penny Knife (ſo cheap was the inſtrument of this great attempt) and the ſheath thereof he ſewed to the lining of his Pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the Blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made ſhift, partly, as it is ſaid, on Horſe-back, and partly on foot, to get to *Portſmouth*; for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his deſperation. At *Portſmouth* on

on Saturday, being the 23. of *Auguſt* of that currant year, he preſſed without any ſuſpicion in ſuch a time of ſo many pretenders to Imployment, into an inward Chamber, where the Duke was at breakfaſt (the laſt of his repaſts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with *Monſieur de Soubes*, and Sir *Thomas Fryer*. And there a little before the Dukes riſing from the Table, he went and ſtood expecting till he ſhould paſs through a kind of Lobby between that Room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which paſſage, as I conceive, ſomewhat darker then the Chamber which he voided, while the Duke came with Sir *Thomas Fryer* cloſe at his ear, in the very moment as the ſaid Knight withdrew himſelf from the Duke, this Aſſaſinate gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left ſide, leaving the Knife in his body. Which the Duke himſelf pulling out, on a ſudden effuſion of ſpirits, he ſunk down under the Table in the next Room, and immediately expired.

Certain it is, that ſome good while before, Sir *Clement Throckmorton*, a Gentleman then living, of grave judgement, had in a private conference adviſed him to wear a Privy-Coat, whoſe Counſel the Duke received very kindly; but gave him this anſwer, That againſt any popular fury, a Shirt of Mayl would be but a ſilly defence; and as for any ſingle mans aſſault, he took himſelf to be in no danger. So dark is Deſtiny.

One thing in this enormous accident, is, I muſt confeſs, to me beyond all wonder, as I received it from a Gentleman of judicious and diligent obſervation, and one whom the Duke well favoure That within the ſpace of not many minutes after[d]

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fall of the body; and removal thereof into the first Room, there was not a living creature in either of the Chambers, no more then if it had lien in the Sands of *Æthiopia*; whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken, and to see. But it should seem the very horrour of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murtherer himself might have escaped (for who gave the blow, none could affirm) if he had not lingred about the House below, not by any confused arrest of conscience; as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembred by a vertuous fame, or an illustrious infamy.

Thus died this great Peer, in the 36 year of his age compleat, and three dayes over, in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependance upon him, the House, and Town full of Servants and Suiters, his Dutchess in an upper Room, scarce yet out of her Bed; and the Court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the Stage of his Greatness.

I have spent some enquiry whether he had any ominous presagement before his end. Wherein though both ancient and modern Stories have been infected with much vanity; yet oftentimes things fall out of that kind which may bear a sober construction, whereof I will glean two or three in the Dukes Case.

Being to take his leave of my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, then Bishop of *London*, whom he knew well planted in the Kings unchangeable affection by his

his own great abilities; after courteſies of courſe had paſſed between them: My Lord, ſayes the Duke, I know your Lordſhip hath very worthily good acceſſes unto the King our Soveraign, let me pray you to put his Majeſty in mind to be good, as I no wayes diſtruſt, to my poor Wife and Children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my Lord Biſhop being ſomewhat troubled, took the freedome to ask him whether he had never any ſecret abodement in his mind. No (replyed the Duke) but I think ſome adventure may kill me as well as another man.

The very day before he was ſlain, feeling ſome indiſpoſition of body, the King was pleaſed to give him the honour of a viſit, and found him in his Bed; where, and after much ſerious and private diſcourſe, the Duke at his Majeſties departing, embraced him in a very unuſual and paſſionate manner, and in like ſort his friend the Earl of *Holland*, as if his ſoul had divined he ſhould ſee them no more: which infuſions towards fatal ends, had been obſerved by ſome Authors of no light Authority.

On the very day of his death, the Counteſs of *Denbigh* received a Letter from him; whereunto all the while ſhe was writing her anſwer, ſhe bedewed the Paper with her tears; And after a moſt bitter paſſion (whereof ſhe could yield no reaſon, but that her deareſt Brother was to be gone) ſhe fell down in a ſwound. Her ſaid Letter ended thus:

I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of Heaven will bleſs you.

The

The day following, the Bishop of *Ely*, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her; but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of her self, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, *Her Brother seeming to pass thorow a field with her in her Coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the Duke of* Buckingham *was sick*. Which natural impression she scarce had related unto her Gentlewoman, before the Bishop was entred into her Bedchamber for a chosen Messenger of the Dukes death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgement, not unwillingly omitting certain prognostick Anagrams, and such strains of fancy.

He took to Wife, eight years and two moneths before his death, the Lady *Katherine Manners*, Heir general to the Noble House of *Rutland*; who besides a solid addition to his Estate, brought him three Sons and a Daughter, called the Lady *Mary*, his first born; his eldest Son died at Nurse, before his Journey at *Rhees*; and his third, the Lord *Francis*, was born after his Fathers death; so as neither his first nor his last were participant of any sense of his misfortunes or felicities; His second Son, now Duke of *Buckingham*, was born to cheer him after his return from that unlucky Voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable vertues of her Person and Mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation towards his end, bequeath-

queathing her all his Manſion-houſes during her natural life, and a power to diſpoſe of his whole perſonal Eſtate, together with a fourth part of his Lands in joynture: He left his elder Brother of the ſame womb a Viſcount, and his younger an Earl; Sir *Edward Villiers*, his half Brother on the Fathers ſide, he either preferred or removed (call it how you will) from his ſtep-mothers eye to the Preſidentſhip, where he lived in ſingular eſtimation for his juſtice and hoſpitality; and died with as much grief of the whole Province, as ever any Governour did (before his religious Lady of ſweet and Noble diſpoſition) adding much to his honour. The eldeſt of the Brethren, and Heir of the Name, was made a Baronet, but abſtained from Court, enjoying perhaps the greater Greatneſs of ſelf-fruition.

He left his Mother a Counteſs by Patent, in her own perſon, which was a new leading example, grown before ſomewhat rare, ſince the dayes of Queen *Mary*. His Siſter of *Denbigh* (that right character of a good Lady) he moſt humbly recommended to the Queen; who after a diſcharge of ſome *French* in her Court that were to return, took her into three ſeveral places of honour and truſt.

In ſhort, not to inſiſt upon every particular Branch of thoſe private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, deſcending of the Name of *Villiers* or *Beaumont*, within any near degree, either matched with Peers of the Realm actually, or hopefully with Earls Sons and Heirs; or at leaſt with Knights, or Doctors of Divinity, and of plentifull condition: He did not much ſtrengthen his own ſubſiſtence in Court,

but ſtood there on his own feet, for the truth is, the moſt of his Allies rather leaned upon him, then ſhoared him up.

His familiar ſervants, either about his perſon in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of State, as his Secretaries; or of Office, as his Steward; or of Law, as that worthy Knight whom he long uſed to ſolicite his Cauſes; He left all both in good Fortune, and, which is more, in good Fame.

Things very ſeldome conſociated in the inſtruments of great Perſonages.

THE

THE GREAT ACTION BETWEEN POMPEY AND CÆSAR,

Extracted out of the *Roman* and *Grecian* Writers, by *H. W.* K^t. for an *Hiſtorical Exerciſe.*

The *DEDICATION* to Sir EDMUND BACON *Knight* and *Baronet.*

WHEN *Rome* in the revolution of 702. years, was grown pregnant of an univerſal *Monarchy:* After hard labour with foreign Hoſtilities, and worſe with inward Rents and Diviſions which mangled her own bowels. The *State* yet free (or

Looſneſs miſtaken, as it is often, for *Liberty*) ſeemed now to ſtand moſt in danger of two eminent Gentlemen, *Caius Julius Cæſar* and *Cneus Pompeius*: The one of all men living, the likelieſt to ſtir up again the Sinders of the *Marian*, the other of the *Syllan* Party. Theſe Gallants of the time had ſome years before, beſides their near alliance by Marriage of *Pompey* to *Julius Cæſar*'s Daughter, (a Lady of imperious allurement) been likewiſe united together in a *Trimviral Knot* with *Marcus Craſſus*, the wealthieſt of the whole Nobility, which *Conſortſhip* was in effect a kind of *Segregate*, or *Cabinet-Senate*; importing ſecretly no leſs, then that no *Act* of *Moment* ſhould paſs without conſent of all *three*: So as upon this foundation, by their own perſonal Purſuits, by the mutual Strength and Coherence of their ſeveral Dependants; and by all other inſinuative and ambient Arts, (in a long corrupted *Common-wealth*, ſtill forbidden, and ſtill increaſing) after they had run through the principal Dignities at home: *Craſſus* on the Eaſtern ſide, with a puiſſant Army (as Money wants no Followers) went Governour of *Syria*: *Pompey* Southward, got *Libya* of new, and retained both *Spains* under former *Lieutenants*: As for *Cæſar*, who by an inſolent Conſulſhip had awaked much jealouſie, they gave him at firſt only *Illyricum*, and the nearer *Gallia*, Provinces then of little doings, (as it were to impound his ſpirits:) yet leaſt the People (whoſe good will had coſt him deep) ſhould bluſter in his behalf, the *Senate* was afterwards (between Favour and Fear) content to extend his Commiſſion to *Gallia Narbonenſis*, beyond the *Alps*. Thus were the Three diſtributed at diſtance enough as perchance was thought meet, upon more doubt hitherto of their too much agree-

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ment, and conference of Counsels and Plots together, then of any rupture, or disunion at hand: So short-sighted is that which we call humane Providence, and so easily can the Supream Mover delude our Imaginations. For *Crassus* not long after, either greedy of Fame or Spoil, and too confident (as it should seem) in the weakest of Advantages, *Number*, being miserably overthrown, and slain by the *Parthians*. And *Julia* a little before dying of an *Abort* in Child-bed, together with the *Infant* she bare, it lay thenceforth open and clear in every Mans eye, that the *Triumvirate* dissolved, and She gone, without any Slip remaining, who had been the fastest Cement to hold her Father and Husband together, there would soon ensue but a dry and sandy Friendship between them, being now left at large to the *Scope* and *Sway* of their voluntary *Appetites*.

Wherefore, having undertaken for some entertainment of my private time, to compile out of the best of Ancient Memories, that mighty *Action* which anon under these two *Chiefs* involved almost the whole World, then known, I impute it not impertinent, to take first a short view how they stood before hand in *Parallel* together.

They were both, in general, esteemed of Affections too strong for their own, or the common Quiet: That the one could not endure a Superior, nor the other an Equal; we are told both in Prose and in Verse, by ingenious Authors: But whether they agreed to leave us a draught of the greatness, or of the weakness of their Minds, I dare not affirm; some seeming Magnanimities being indeed (if you sound them well) at the bottom, very Impotencies. Certainly, in sober conceit, howsoever they stood

towards other, they were impatient of all comparison or approach between themselves; and of their former nearness, no fruit remaining but this, That the more inwardly they had then studied and understood each other, they now loved the less. For point of invading the Soveraignty, such narrow Humorists as could look through them, thought *Pompey* of the two, rather the closer, then the better. For *Cæsar*'s was not a smothered, but a flagrant Ambition, kindling first by Nature, and blown by Necessity; in the course whereof one might observe a kind of Circular Motion: for as his vast Desires had exhausted him with unmeasureable gifts above private Condition; so again, when he was grown (as he would often sport with himself in earnest) a great deal worth less then nothing: He fell next to resolve (by an usual Coincidence of extreams) that he could not subsist, unless he were Master of all. In their practical ways *Pompey* had one very ignoble custom, to insert, or (as I may term it) to inoculate himself into other mens merits and praises: So he undermined *Lucullus* in *Asia*, and *Metellus* in *Spain*: the first a wise and magnificent, the other a good plain Souldier-like Gentleman. But on the other side, all that went for good or bad in *Cæsar*, was clearly his own; having so little need to borrow from any other virtues, or vices, that he left it a Doubt among the best Wits of his time, whether of which himself had most, in the two proper Dowries of that Age, *Eloquence* or *Arms*.

A CHARACTER OF *FERDINANDO di MEDICI* Grand Duke of *Tuscany.* DEDICATED TO THE KING.

BEing desirous, albeit I dare promise little fruit, or pleasure, to others by any use of my Pen; yet at least to record unto my self some such Observations as I picked up abroad in the time of my former travels and imployments.

I stand obliged in grateful memory, to say somewhat of a Prince long since at rest; namely, *Ferdinando* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, which was the ancient *Hetruria*, whose Palace of *Piti* at *Florence*, when I came often to review, and still me thought with fresh admiration; being incomparably (as

far as I can yet speak by experience, or report) for solid *Architecture*, the most magnificent and regular Pile within the Christian World. It pleased him, by means of the Cavalier *Vieta*, his principal Secretary of Estate, to take some notice of my Person, though no intruder by Nature, and (God knows) of little ability.

The said Duke *Ferdinando* was reputed a wise and wary Prince; and it was a Solid wisdom, rather then a Formal. He had been long a Cardinal, and at two or three Conclaves (as they call them) or Elections of Popes: so as he came to the Dukedom well seasoned before with practice, and well broken to Affairs: and with such an impression of his first Tincture (as falleth out naturally in all things else) that he always maintained a great interest in the *Roman* Court; as indeed was necessary for a near and jealous Confiner. He was in his Civil Regiment of a fine composition, between Frugality and Magnificence: A great cherisher of Manual Arts, especially such as tended to splendor and ornament; as *Picture*, *Sculpture*, cutting of Chrystals, Ambers, and all of the softer Gems, inlaying of Marbles, limning of Birds, Beasts, and Vegetables, Imbossing, and the like. In all which he drew to him from all parts the most exquisite Artificers with a setled Pension, and placed them in several compartments of his Palace, where he would come oftentimes to see them work for his own delight: and so he did furnish his Cabinets with Rarities at an easie rate, being, in truth, one of the greatest *Oeconomists* of his Age. And as he had much at first of the Deacon, and more of the Prince, so he did now and then not disdain to have a little of the Merchant; 'twas as well as fighting with his *Gal-*

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lies. After the death of the Duke *Francesco* his Brother, it vvas a vvhile somewhat an Ambiguous Deliberative, vvhether he should divest the Cardinalship, or rule vvith a double Greatness, Ecclesiastical and Civil: But the hope of Posterity overbalanced the scale; and so he took to Wife the Daughter of *Loraign*, as it vvere to interest himself novv in the Borders of *France:* whereas his Name before had spread it self in the Body. He vvas by nature more reserved then popular, and had virtues fitter to beget estimation then love; yet he vvould duly in his Coach take almost every day a revievv of the City, and receive Petitions vvillingly. Besides, I have been shewed a strange device of State, namely, an outward hole, like a Trunk, in a Wall of one of his Galleries, the bottom vvhereof vvas under lock and key, into vvhich any one might let forth any secret intelligence, and convey it closely to the ears of the Prince: enough to disquiet all the days of his life. He vvas served by able Instruments of State, and diligently attended in Court; but rather by choice then number, and vvith more neatness then noise. He had a close and intrinsecal Favourite, by Birth a Stranger, being born in *Piedmont*, but by his favour made Archbishop of *Pisa*, a notable Screen between him and his Subjects; upon vvhom the Duke vvould handsomely bestovv all manner of complaint; and he as vvillingly bear it. He vvas unquestionably the powerfullest of all the *Italian* Dukes: and being centred in the very Navel of *Italy*, thereby the furthest from Invasion on all sides, and the most participant of the common Interest; vvhich, I believe, among other causes, hath much preserved that State in busie times: yet surely, a little over-

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awed, or over-looked by the King of *Spain*, who holdeth in actual poſſeſſion *Pont Hercule*, *Telemene*, and *Piombino*, which we may perchance not improperly call the Fetters of *Hetruria*. Of ſtature he was ſomewhat above the mean, a groſs body, not apt to motion, and as quiet a Countenance. His Moneys were the pureſt and leaſt corrupted with-in the *Italian* bounds: and his Markets the beſt ordered for prices of comeſtible Ware; where, in all his Towns, a man might have ſent out a Child for any fleſh, or fiſh, at a rated price every Morning. To which temper more ſeptentrional unlimber Nations have not yet bent themſelves. On the other ſide, there was nothing brought into *Florence* from the Field, to the leaſt ſale, but by a long inſenſible ſervitude paid ſomewhat. This was the Civil and Natural habit of that Prince: and more might be ſaid, if I were not pounded within an *Epiſtle*. This Duke, while I was a private Traveller in *Florence*, and went ſometime by chance (ſure I am, without any deſign) to his Court, was pleaſed, out of ſome gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity, (for nothing elſe could move it) to imploy me into *Scotland* with a Casket of *Antidotes*, or *Preſervatives*, (wherein he did excel all the Princes of the World) and with a Diſpatch of high and ſecret Importance, which he had intercepted touching ſome practice upon the Succeſſion to this Crown; ſo as I am much obliged to his Memory (though it was a painful journey) for that Honour, and other Favours and Beneficences; and eſpecially becauſe I came thereby firſt into the notice of the King your Father, of ever bleſſed memory, when your Majeſty was but a blooming Roſe, which afterwards drew on my imployment to the Republick of *Venice*.

THE

THE ELECTION OF THE DUKE OF VENICE:

With other Papers concerning that STATE prefixed.

A Letter to the KING, *December* 9. 1622.

May it please your most Sacred Majesty,

BY this right honest and learned Gentleman, by name *Adolphus Ryplingham*, (who hath spent some time abroad in the best observations) I send your Majesty more *Melon*-seeds, of all sorts, which have been diligently chosen, and will, I hope, take better then the former. In my Letter to Master Secretary *Calvert*, I have discharged other duties, among which some will come very seasonably unto your

your Majesty about *Christmass*-time, to increase your recreation: For it is indeed a merry piece of service that I have sent your Majesty, a testimony of your conscience from *Rome*. Now, for this Letter, I have reserved a private and voluntary subject, which I have taken the freedom most humbly to present unto your Majesties benign censure. It is the preface to one of mine own poor labours, comprehending the argument thereof, and the motives. In which as yet unfinished lucubration (for so I may justly call it, having been for the most part born in the night) I have had occasion to fall upon some weighty considerations of Church and State; while I did search the progress of this Republick, among the clouds and confusions of the middle Age. Between which times it was a kind of refreshment, and yet withal but a miserable pleasure, to contemplate how the Empire grew lank, and the Popedom tumorous proportionably, till Superstition, like a wild and raging fire, could at length be contained, *neque suis terminis, neque alienis*. These remarkable points I have now touched, to procure from your Majesty some pardon for a bold invocation therein of your Royal Name; being confident, that this high Theoreme of State, which I handle (though my self but a poor Student in meaner speculations) may prove not unworthy, in the subject it self, to receive some lustre from your gracious countenance. To conclude, the trouble that I have given your Majesty, instead of some present more valuable, to inaugurate the new approaching year. I do humbly submit the death or life of this work to your only doom, and though that ancient conceit was well commended when it was first born; *Mallem Augusti judicium, quam Antonii Beneficium*:

ſcium: yet I muſt crave leave to think it ſomewhat ignoble. And for my part, to aſſure your Majeſty, that I ſhall more rejoyce in the approbation of your judgement, then in the fruition even of your own benefits. And ſo I moſt humbly commit your moſt dear and Royal Perſon to God's continual love; remaining

Your Majeſties faithful Vaſſal,

and long devoted poor Servant,

Ottavio Baldi.

[Præfatio in Hiſtoriam *Venetam.*]

HEnricus Wottonius *Anglo-Cantianus, poſtquam quatuor decem ferè annorum ſpatium legationibus apud* Venetos *exhauſeram; Anno unici* Mediatoris *ſupra Milleſimum ſexcenteſimum viceſimo ſecundo, Ætatis meæ quinquageſimo tertio jam labente, de illorum Imperio ſcribere ſum aggreſſus; ut ſi non ſatis vigilaſſe foris, pro publico munere, at ſaltem vixiſſe videar. Quippe levi profectò diſtant diſcrimine ſilentes à defunctis; nec multum intereſt, nos terminet fatalis dies, an præſtinguat inertia. Igitur libido ſæpius ſopita, nunc ardentius rediit, revolvendi vetera, novaque; ut ex radicibus eliciam, quo Fati ductu, quèis maximè inſtitutis, quibuſque Artibus, tam Inclyta Chriſtiani Orbis Civitas tot ſecula ſuperaverit, inter varias Mari Terraque tam cladium quam victoriarum vices, nec minora fortaſſe ipſius Otii, quam Belli mala. Hujus falicitatis progreſſus, & fulcimenta retrò quærenti, duo præcipuè, ſi rectè æſtimo Fontes recludent: Hiſtoria temporum, & Imperii forma. Quæ quàm*

potero

potero brevissimè, & quasi delibatim expediam. Ut hoc qualecunque conceptum Opus delectu magis rerum quam ubertate gestiat: simul etiam ne in alienæ Reipublicæ arcanis longiùs hærendo, Hospitis verecundiam violarem.

Te verò sapientissime Jacobe *Rex & Domine, sub cujus indulgentis Judicii præsidio imbecillitas nostra civilibus ministeriis incubuit, quam quidem natura potiùs ad simpliciora studia damnaverat: Te, inquam, Clarissimum sæculi Lumen, in exordio præsentium curarum invocare liceat, ut tanti nominis, velut adflatu quodam alacriùs incæptum peragam. Sed quia non levia meditamur, quod ante ingressum ingenui Authores solent, id quoque profitior, ne sine obtrectatione, sine blanditiis, sensus, quos per omnem laboris partem res ipsa suggerit, liberrime prolaturum, ne argumenti dignitatem dehonestet servilis oratio.*

Jam urbem *Venetam*, &c.

[A Letter concerning the Original of *Venice*.]

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Owe your Lordship, even by promise, some account of my foreign Travels: and the Observations which I have taken touching this City and Republick, are these;

The general position of the City of *Venice*, I find much celebrated, even by the learnedest of the **Arabians*, as being seated in the very middle point between the Equinoctial and the Northern Pole, at 45. degrees precisely,

**Averhoes.*

ciſely, or next hand, of latitude: yet their Win-ters are for the moſt part ſharper then ours, though about 6. degrees leſs of elevation; perchance by vicinity tothe chilly tops of the *Alps*, for Winds as well as Waters are tainted in their paſſage; and the conſequence which men make in common diſcourſe, from the Degree of the place to the Temper, is indeed very deceiveable, without a due regard to other circumſtances.

The Circuit thereof, through divers Creeks, is not well determinable; but as Aſtronomers uſe to meaſure the Stars, vve may account it a City of the firſt Magnitude; as *London*, *Paris*, *Gaunt*, *Millain*, *Lisbon*, *&c.*

Hovv they came to be founded in the midſt of the Waters, I could never meet with any clear Memorial. The beſt and moſt of their Authors aſcribe their firſt beginnings rather to chance or neceſſity, then counſel; which yet in my opinion will amount to no more then a pretty conjecture intenebrated by Antiquity: for thus they deliver it; They ſay, that among the Tumults of the middle Age, vvhen Nations vvent about ſwarming like Bees; *Atylas*, that great Captain of the *Hunnes*, and ſcourge of the World (as he vvas ſtyled) lying long vvith a numerous Army at the Siege of *Aquileia*, it ſtruck a mighty affrightment and confuſion into all the nearer parts; vvhereupon, the beſt ſort of the bordering People, out of divers Towns, agreed either ſuddenly, or by little and little (as fear vvill ſometimes collect, as vvell as diſtract) to convey themſelves and their ſubſtance into the uttermoſt boſome of the *Adriatick Gulf*, and there poſſeſſed certain deſolate Iſlets, by Tradition, about ſeventy in number, vvhich afterwards (neceſſity being the Mother

Mother of Art) were tacked together with Bridges, and ſo the City took a rude form, vvhich grevv civilized vvith time, and became a great example vvhat the ſmalleſt things vvell fomented may prove.

They glory in this their begining two ways: Firſt, that ſurely their *Progenitors* vvere not of the meaneſt and baſeſt quality; (for ſuch having little to loſe, had as little cauſe to remove.) Next, that they vvere timely inſtructed vvith Temperance and Penury (the Nurſes of Moderation.) And true it is, that as all things favour of their firſt Principles, ſo doth the ſaid *Republick* (as I ſhall afterwards ſhew) even at this day: for the Rule vvill hold as vvell in Civil as in Natural Cauſes.

Cætera deſunt.

[An Epiſtle Dedicatory of the following Diſcourſe.]

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

HAving here lately ſeen the deaths of two, and the elections of two other Dukes, within the compaſs of ſix weeks, I have been bold to entertain your Lordſhip with a little ſtory of theſe changes and competitions, though with ſmall preſumption that you can take any pleaſure in my ſimple report thereof, unleſs it win ſome favour by the freſhneſs or the freedome.

For the reſt, the whole Town is here at the preſent in horrour and confuſion, upon the diſcovering of a foul and fearful conſpiracy of the French *againſt this State; whereof no leſs then thirty have already ſuffered very condign puniſhment, between men ſtrangled in priſon, drowned in the ſilence of the night, and hanged in publick view; and yet the bottom is inviſible.*

If God's mercy had not prevented it, I think I might for mine own particular have ſpared my late ſupplication to the King about my return home towards next Winter: For I cannot hope that in the common Maſſacre publick Miniſters would have been diſtinguiſhed from other men's; nay, rather we might perchance have had the honour to have our houſes thought worthieſt the rifling. I ſhall give your Lordſhip a better account of this in my next; having now troubled you beyond excuſe with my poor Papers. Our bleſſed God keep your Lordſhip in his love.

Venice this 25. of *May*, 1618.

Your Lordſhips vvith
all true devotion,

HENRY WOTTON.

THE ELECTION OF THE NEW DUKE OF VENICE,

After the Death of *GIOVANNI BEMBO.*

ON *Friday*, being the 16 of *March*, in this year 1618. about an hour before Sun-setting, *Giovanni Bembo* the 91 Duke of *Venice*, ended his dayes in the 75 year of his Age: His diſeaſe was a Feaver occaſioned by ſome obſtruction in his reins that ſtopped the courſe of his water: Whe-

Whether the Phyſicians did haſten his end, by taking from him more blood then his years could ſpare, is now too late a queſtion. His name is one of the Ancienteſt among them. His Father was a Gentleman, almoſt of the loweſt poverty, till he matched with a wealthy Citizens Daughter, who afterwards proved the Heir of her Father, leaving iſſue male this Duke *Giovanni* and *Philippo* his Brother: *Philippo* (who only was married, being not the Cuſtome of *Venice* for more Brothers then one to take Wife) died ſome few moneths before the Duke, in greater reputation then degree: For their Laws do ſuppreſs the Brothers of their Dukes. The Duke himſelf did ariſe by Imployments at Sea; His firſt Action of note was in the Battel of *Lepanto*; where beſides ſome wounds that he received for his own ſhare, the ſucceſs of that great day, in ſuch trepidation of the State, made every man meritorious. He was laſtly (to omit his middle ſteps) while the Republick ſtood under Excommunication by this Pope (the King of *Spain* likewiſe then arming) made General of their Maritime Forces. This is the ſolemneſt Title they can confer under the Princedome, being indeed a kind of Dictatorſhip: to which they have no Charge equivalent on the Land, having been content (as it ſeems) in honour of their Situation, to give the Prerogative of truſt to that Element: To the Princedome he was choſen, being none of the Competitors then in voice. Who unable to make themſelves, and unwilling to make their Concurrents, (as the faſhion is) agreed in a Third: He held the Place two years, three moneths, and twelve dayes with general good liking: though indeed, his praiſes were rather Moral then Intellectu-

al, as more consisting in goodness of disposition, then any other eminent Ability. For he was neither eloquent, profound, nor learned, only notable in his splendour and œconomical magnificence, beyond ordinary example, and perchance in another nature beyond Permission: For these Popularities among them, are somewhat hazardous. To Ambassadours he gave small satisfaction, save with his eyes, which were very gracious and kind. In his Countenance otherwise, there was an invincible weakness, alwayes blushing while he spake, and glad when he had done. Whereby his Answers were the more scant and meager. But this did imitate Wisdome: For a Duke of *Venice* that opens himself much, will be chidden. To conclude, he was in his civil course a good Patriot, and in his natural, a good man. They that are willing to censure him further, think his whole composition fitter for the quality of the State, then the times. Now being thus passed away, the first publick Care was to order his Funeral; till when, the Custome doth not suffer that a new can be chosen. This was done the Thursday following with all due solemnity; and in the mean time was made five Correctors and three Inquisitors. The Correctors are to consider what Laws be fit to be added or amended touching the future Election, or in the form of the Dukes Oath, which they gently call his * *Promise*: The Inquisitors are, upon Complaint (and not otherwise) against the deceased Prince, especially in matter of Extortion, to enquire of the truth, and accordingly to punish his Heirs. Which Office doth continue in Authority the term of a year. The Correctors at this time pretented four new Law.

* *La Promissione Ducale.*

1. That

1. *That the Brothers and Children of the Prince ſhall take place in publick Proceſſions, after the principal Magiſtrates, namely, next to the Cenſors.*
2. *That immediately after the choice of any new Duke, in the next Grand Councel, ſhall be openly rehearſed all former Decrees againſt Defrauders of the Publick Cheſts. This they call in their Dialect* Intaccamento di Caſſe, *as unpardonable here as Treaſon.*

The other two merit no Memory, being only about little encreaſe of Proviſion for the Dukes Attendants, and ſome Enlargement of time for the Correctors Office, which heretofore did determine as ſoon as the Election began.

Theſe new Orders thus made, and approved by the Grand Councel (from whence all Authority floweth) they proceeded on *Friday* morning to the Election.

About which time were diſcovered four Competitors, *Antonio Priuli*, *Gieconimo Giuſtiniano*, *Auguſtino Nani*, and *Niccolo-Donato*. The three firſt all *Procuratori di St. Marco*; Who are in number Nine, in degree the ſecond Perſonages of the State, and commonly the Seminary of their Princes; though not of neceſſity, as well appeareth by the fourth Concurrent, who was yet no more then a Senator of the *Wide Sleeve*; a Veſture of eminent Gravity and Place in their Councels. Of theſe *Priuli* and *Giuſtiniano* having before been choſen Commiſſioners in the Buſineſs of the *Uſcocchi*, were by a new Warning and Penalty in the Senate on *Friday* before (the Prince then languiſhing) commanded to be gone. But this did not prejudice their Hopes. For I have noted one ſingular property in the Compoſition of this State, That no mans for-

tunes, without other Demerits, are hindred by their Abſence.

Now it ſhall be fit to ſet down, with what Foundations, and with what Oppoſitions, they entred the Liſt.

Priuli had paſſed through all the principal Charges of the State in the Civil way; And had laſtly in the Military been *Generaliſſimo* (till ſickneſs ſent him home) in the *Auſtrian* Action. His own Family numerous; His Alliance ſtrong; Himſelf a man of moderate nature, of pleaſant and popular Converſation, rather free then ſowr and reſerved; of good extemporal judgement and diſcourſe, for the ſatisfying of publick Miniſters, which is the Dukes proper part. Laſtly, Threeſcore and ten years old (for that muſt not be forgotten among his helps.) But he ſuffered two Objections, though both rather within his Fortune, then his Nature. The one, that he was the Father of a Cardinal, which might diſtract his Affection between the State and the Church. The other, that he was poor, and ſomewhat behind-hand. Of which Objection on the other ſide, his Favourers made up part of his merit, as having indebted himſelf in the publick Service.

Giuſtiniano was a Gentleman, that had likewiſe paſſed through the beſt places at home, of excellent Gravity and Judgement, and of moſt unqueſtionable Integrity; not violent, not avaricious, ſingularly beloved of the people; to whoſe ſatisfaction in a time of this nature, it was perhaps meet to yield ſomewhat. He was beſides, one year elder then *Priuli*; but his old age did not help him ſo much as he was hindred by the Antiquity of his Name. For the Princedome having been for the

two

two laſt Succeſſions in the old Families, it was likely, the new would now ſtrive to bring it back again among their own Blood.

Nani had carried himſelf meritoriouſly in forraign Imployments, particularly againſt the Pope, in the time of the Interdict; which held up his Credit among the good Patriots. And having been near the Supream Place at the laſt Election, he re-entred now with the more hope. Beſides, being by nature ſtiff and ſenſitive, his cunning friends did mould that to his advantage; the time ſeeming to need ſuch a man. But two wilde rumours did much oppreſs him, The one with the better ſort, that he had purchaſed by cloſe gifts certain of the poor Gentlemens Favours: The other with the people, that he had of late been Author of ſome hard Decrees; his age beſides was but 63 years, and his complexion durable.

Donato (ſirnamed *Teſtolina*, for the littleneſs of his head) had been long time converſant in the graveſt Conſultations, was reputed one of the wealthieſt Gentlemen of the whole City, of good natural capacity, and above the reſt adorned with Erudition. Beſides, he had the Commendation of fourſcore years, and of a weak body. But it was thought ſomewhat preſumptuous, that he ſhould contend with perſons of higher Rank: whereupon ſome conceived his end, only to gain a friend by his voices, and to make himſelf Procurator in the room of him that ſhould be Prince.

With theſe hopes, and with theſe objections, they entred the Field, after they had laboured their friends one whole Week, namely, from the *Friday* night of the Dukes death, to the *Friday* morning following, and perhaps a good while before:

within which time, at the place of their *Broglio* (as they term it) where the Concurrents sue for voices, *Nani* the youngest of the four, was noted by some vacant searching wits, to tread softly, to walk stoopingly, and to raise himself from Benches where he sate with laborious and painful gesture, as Arguments of no lasting man. Such a counterfeiting thing sometimes is Ambition. To come now to the Election.

The Election of the Duke of *Venice* is one of the most intricate and curious Forms in the World; consisting of ten several precedent Ballotations. Whereupon occurreth a pretty Question, What need there was of such a deal of solicitude in choosing a Prince of such limited Authority? And it is the stranger, for having been long in use, the ancient Forms being commonly the most simple. To which doubt, this Answer may serve the turn, that it was (as the tradition runneth) a Monks Invention of the *Benedictin* Order. And in truth, the whole mysterious frame therein, doth much savour of the Cloyster. For first, a Boy must be snatched up below, and this Child must draw the Balls, and not themselves, as in all other Elections: then is it strangely intermingled, half with Chance, and half with Choice. So as Fortune, as well as Judgement or Affection hath her part in it, and perhaps the greater. One point (as now and then happeneth, even in the most curious webs of this nature) seemeth somewhat unequal. Namely, that the 41 (who are the last immediate Electors of the Duke) must be all of several Families, and of them twenty five at least concur to his Nomination. For hereby the old names (which are but twenty four) cannot make a Duke without help

help from ſome one of the new. And that is not eaſily gotten, through emulation between them, as ſtrong perhaps as any publick reſpect. So as the two laſt Dukes, *Memo* and *Bembo*, both of the ancient Blood, may upon the whole matter be accounted Irregularitives of Fortune, who hath likewiſe her *Anomola*.

Now to ſet down the Variations of Chance in every ſtep of theſe Scrutinies, were tedious. Sure it is, that at the encloſing of the 41. (for thoſe muſt be ſhut up like our Jurors of Inqueſt, but that they are better fed) *Donato* had fifteen ſure Balls, *Nani* twelve, *Giuſtiniano* ten, and *Priuli* but four. So as no one of them had voices enough to exclude the other three from making a Duke: for to this Privative Power are required ſeventeen Balls at leaſt. Nor any two of them, except *Donato* and *Nani* had reciprocally an incluſive Power to advance each other by joyning: for though *Donato* might have made *Giuſtiniano*, yet he could not be made by him, becauſe their united ſtrength was but preciſely twenty five, which number indeed would have ſerved the turn, but that one of them on *Donato*'s part (himſelf being of the number) muſt be abated. For contrary to the form of Election in the Empire, no man here can beſtow his Ball upon his own perſon. So as upon the matter doth ariſe a kind of Riddle, That *Donato* was the weaker by his preſence.

Thus they ſtood in their ſeveral Strengths when they were ſhut up with a Guard about the Palace: where during this Election, all Inferiour Tribunals ceaſe, only the Colledge of the Preconſultors (as they term it) is daily open for the hearing of Ambaſſadors; the Senate likewiſe, and the High Coun-

Councel of Ten in their ordinary vigour. They remained close twelve full dayes: In which time divers false voices were vented. But none of the Competitors arriving to a sufficient number of Balls, they fell (as the fashion is) to ballote some others that did not concur. Among whom, nothing was so memorable as the Ballotation of *Lorenzo Viniero*; who having in the late Fight at Sea, with the *Neopolitane* Fleet preserved his honour, when the rest were nearer shame, had now eighteen Balls for the supream place of his Countrey, though otherwise as yet, of but small rank himself. At last these 41 Electors tired with trials, *Nani* unable to make himself, not inclining to *Giustiniani*, as being of an old House, with *Priuli* privately distasted, and generally, wishing him best, that was unlikeliest to live long; On *Thursday* morning, being the fifth of *April*, declared unto his friends, that he would joyn with *Donato*: which the rest understanding, they owed (though not to him, yet) to themselves more good will, then not to favour that which they could not hinder. And so *Niccolo Donato* was made Duke, with thirty nine Balls, his own exempted (as I have said) by Law, and some one of the rest shrinking, I know not how, *per Capriccio* perhaps, rather then despight. This is the sixth man under the Degree of a Procurator, that hath been made Duke since the foundation of the City; which makes *Nani* the more odious among his own Colleagues, for advancing an inferiour Order; which perchance hereafter upon the example may grow more familiar. He was published with slight Applause, and with more approbation (as it seems) of the Stars, then of men. For it is vulgarly reported from his own mouth, and here strong-

strongly believed, That an Astrologer some years since in *Padoua*, having cast his Nativity, told him he should die in *Carcere nobili*, which they now apply to so restrained a Princedome, helping it with Conceipt; as commonly those kind of Predictions do need.

The Election of the following Duke after the death of Niccolo Donato.

ON *Tuesday* the eighth of *May Niccolo Donato* died, about two hours of the night, as near as the moment could be known, which his Nephews and Servants did conceal, and is never hastily published by the State. His disease was an *Apoplexy*, wherewith being surprized after a gentle fit or two of an Ague, he had no leisure, or no mind to alter a former Will, made while he was but a Senator, so miserably, as if he had meant to be frugal even after his death: For therein he left but twenty five Ducats to all his Servants, and only twenty to the Nuns of *Sta. Chiara* at *Murano*, where he disposed his Body to be laid. The short time of his Princedome (having been but a moneth and two dayes) did yield little matter of observation. One thing was notable, that entring with small applause of the common men, he suddenly got their favours upon a false conceit. For a Decree

cree having passed in his Predecessors time about the reformation of Bakers (who made scant loaves) and being conceived to be his deed , the *Plebeyity* (whose supream Object is Bread) cryed in all corners , *Viva Donato.* In his nature there was a strange Conjunction of two things rarely seen together , *Love of learning* , and *Love of money.* And this is all that can be said of him.

Now being gone , the following Election was likely to be short , the same Concurrence appearing as before , and the affections having been so newly founded and prepared. Therefore (not to extend discourse) the Dukes Funeral Rites being performed the *Monday* after his death, the *Thursday* morning following, *Antonio Priuli* was made Duke, with all Balls. For *Giustiniano* having but eight voices among the last One and fourty Electors, and *Nani* (by strange, and almost prodigious fortune) none , the foresaid eight friends of *Giustiniano*, unprofitable for him whom they loved best, did immediately concur with *Priuli*'s thirty three voices. And so a solemn Ambassage is preparing out of the body of the Senate to determine his Commission in *Friuli* , and to recall him to the supream honour of his Countrey. When at the very same time, or little difference , one of the two *Austrian* Commissioners on the other side , is dead in the midst of the Treaty. So various are humane Fortunes and Conditions.

A MEDITATION

Upon the Twenty second Chapter of *GENESIS.*

By *H. W.*

IN this wonderful Piece of Sacred Story, behold the Father *of the* Believers, *at extream* Age, *surprized (as it should seem by the Circumstances of the Text) in his Bed by a Commandment from* GOD, *to sacrifice his only* Son: *In which case, all the powers of his mind being suddenly shaken with an infinite combat between* Faith *and* Nature, *we may upon the whole matter conceive Him to have broken forth into some such discourse with himself, as followeth.*

WHat! Could this possibly be the voice of GOD, which I heard? or have not rather some strange impressions of the Night deluded my Fancy? Yea, Thy voice it was (my GOD) it was thy voice: How can thy humble Servant deny it? with

with whom seven times before descending from the Throne of thy Glory, thou hast vouchsafed even to commune in this Vale of Tears.

When thou didst first call me out of the darkness of my Fathers house into thy saving Light; when thou didst often cherish and encourage me in the steps of my Pilgrimage; when thou didst furnish me with Plenty, and Crown me with Victory in a strange Land, when, lastly, thou didst even overlade my feeble age with joy in a rightful Heir of mine own Body; was I forward at all these times to acknowledge thee the GOD of my support and comfort? and shall I now question thy voice, when thou demandest but a part of thine own Benefits? No, (my dear *Isaac*) although the Heavens know how much I love thee; yet, if thou wert, or could-est be millions of times more precious in the eyes of thy trembling Father, I would summon together all the strength of mine aged Limbs to render thee unto that gracious GOD from whom I had thee. Alas (poor Boy) how sweetly thou slumbrest, and in thy harmless Bed dost little think what change is towards thee! but I must disturb thy rest. *Isaac*, arise, and call up my Servants; bid them prepare for a journey which we are to make unto the Mount *Moriah*: and let some Wood be carried for the burning of a Sacrifice. Mean while I will walk out a little by my self to contemplate the declining Stars, and the approach of the Morning.

O ye Ornaments of the Sky, who when all the World is silent, obey your Maker in the determinate Order of your Motions! Can Man behold his own duty in a fairer Volume? why then stand I gazing here, and do not rather go my self to hasten my Servants, that I may execute his Will? But stay:

stay: His Will? Why? Is his Will contrary to the example of his own Justice? Did he not heavily punish *Cain*, even at the beginning of the first World, for killing but a Brother? and can I slay my Child, and imbrue my hands in mine own Bowels, without offence of his Immortal Majesty? Yes; why not? The Act of *Cain*, was the Act of his own sinful malice; but I have received an immediate Command from God himself. A Command? Why? Is his Command against his Law? shall the Fountain of all Truth be served with Contradictions? Did not the same God, streight after the universal Deluge, (as our Fathers have told us) denounce this Judgement; That *whoso sheddeth mans blood, his blood shall be shed?* How then can I herein obey my God, but I must withal disobey Him?

O my weak Soul, what poor Arguments doest thou search to cover thine own rebellious Affections! Is there any Warrant higher then his Will? or any better Interpreter of his Will then himself? If the Princes of the Earth (who are but mortal Types of his invisible Glory) can alter their Edicts at pleasure; shall not the Lord of the whole (whom Angels and Men adore) have leave to dispence with his own Prohibitions? Yes surely: But then how shall the Blessing that my good God hath determined upon my Seed, and even upon this very Child, be accomplished, if I destroy the Root? O Lord, was not thy Divine goodness pleased, in the depth of thy Mercy, to accept my Belief for Righteousness? and shall I now frustrate thy Promises with my Obedience? But what! am I fallen again into a new Reluctation? Have I before contested with thy Justice? and shall I now dispute thy Power? Didst thou not create the Light before the Sun?

Sun? and the effect before the cauſe? and ſhall I bind thee to the Paſſions of a natural Agent? Didſt thou not make this All of Nothing, even by thy Word (which was thy Wiſdom?) and foment all that thou haſt made by thy Spirit (which is thy Love?) and ſhall I doubt but thou canſt raiſe innumerable Nations out of the very Aſhes of my poor *Iſaac*? Nay, did I not even at firſt receive him in a manner from a dead Womb? and art not thou ſtill the ſame Almighty and ever living God, Merciful Father, full of all tenderneſs and compaſſion, that ſeeſt from Heaven whereof we are made? Pardon my Diſcourſes, and forget my Delays; I am now going to perform thy good Pleaſure. And yet there is remaining one humble Suit; which refuſe not (O my God) though it proceed from the weakneſs of thine unworthy Creature: Take my Child, and all that is mine; I have reſigned him with my whole Heart unto thy Will. He is already thine, and mine no longer; and I glory that he ſhall die upon thy holy Altar. But yet I fear withal, that theſe my ſhaking hands, and fainting Limbs, vvill be ſeized vvith horror; be not therefore (Dear Lord) diſpleaſed, if I uſe my Servants in the Execution. How now, my Soul! doeſt thou ſhrink in the laſt Act of thy Loyalty? Can I yet vvalk up and down about vile and ordinary Functions, and vvhen my God is to be ſerved, do my Joynts and Members fail me? Have I humbled my deſires to his Will, and ſhall I deny him the choice of his own Inſtrument? Or if his indulgent Mercy would permit it, ſhall I ſuffer another to anticipate the chearfulneſs of my Obedience? O thou great God of Life and Death! who mighteſt have made me an inſenſible Plant, a dead Stone, or a poyſonous Serpent,

pent, and yet even in that likewiſe, I ſhould have conduced to the variety of thy glorious Wiſdom; but haſt vouchſafed to endue us vvith the form of Man, and to breath into our firſt Parent that ſpark of thy Divine Light vvhich vve call Reaſon, to comprehend and acknowledge therewith thy high and indiſputable Soveraignty over all Nature; Thou then (Eternal maker and Mover, whoſe Will is the firſt of Cauſes, and whoſe Glory is the laſt of Ends) direct my Feet to the Place which thou haſt appointed; ſtrengthen there theſe poor Hands to accompliſh thy Pleaſure, and let Heaven and Earth obey thee.

A MEDITATION UPON CHRISTMAS-DAY:

Of the Birth and Pilgrimage of our Saviour CHRIRT on Earth.

O Glorious Morning, wherein was born the Expectation of Nations; and wherein the long Suſpired *Redeemer* of the World, did (as his Prophets had cryed) rent the *Heavens*, and come down in the *Veſture* of *Humanity*! *Thou*, that by the

Vertue of the *Higheſt*, wert conceived in the *Womb* of an inviolate *Virgin*, of all *Women* the moſt bleſſed; and yet more bleſſed by being thy *Daughter*, and thy *Servant*, then thy *Mother*. *Thou*, at *whoſe Birth* the *Quire* of *Heaven* did ſing *Hallelujahs*, and *Angels* made haſte to acquaint even *Shepherds* with the *news!* Stay, my *Soul*, before I go further, and crave leave of thy Lord to ask ſome *Queſtions*. Why wouldeſt thou be firſt made known to the meaneſt condition of *Men?* why were they ſent to ſee their *Saviour*, not in ſome gorgeous *Palace*, but in the vileſt Room of a common *Inn*, and (inſtead of a *Cradle* decked with Rich Imbroideries) lying in a Deſpicable *Manger?* Why didſt *Thou* not chooſe for the *Place* of thy bleſſed *Mothers* Delivery, either *Athens* the Learned, or *Rome* the Imperial, or *Jeruſalem* the Holy *City?* Or ſince poor *Bethlehem*, by thy *Prophets* prediction, muſt receive that Honour, why didſt *Thou* not ſend Millions of *Cherubims* and *Seraphims* before *Thee* for thy *Harbingers?* No, my God, it was *Thy* Will, it was *Thy* Will (which is the higheſt of Reaſons) by thy low beginning in the fleſh, to confound all *Pride*, and to teach the Glories of the Earth to bluſh. Yet, thus born, and thus homely received; behold, a new *Star* deſcending to illuſtrate thy obſcurity, and to conduct the *Wiſe Men* of the *Eaſt* (now wiſe indeed) with their choiceſt *Preſents* to adore *Thee*. O ſtrange *Phænomenon!* Did ever *Hipparchus*, or the great *Triſmegiſt*, or the greater *Moſes*, or all the *Ægyptian* Gazers contemplate before ſuch a *Planet?* So irregular, ſo excentrical, as if the Celeſtial *Lights* had forſaken their proper *Motions* and *Poſition*, to welcome the Lord of all Nature into the World!

And now, in the Courſe of *Thy* precious *Life*, what

what shall I first, what shall I most admire? All is depth, all is wonder and amazement. Shall I first Celebrate *Thy* ever-blessed *Name*, for convincing the great *Doctors* of the Law, at twelve years of *Thine* Age, when *Thy Divine Essence* began to blaze, which had lain before, as it were, slumbring in the Vail of *Thy* Manhood? Or shall I pass from this Miracle of Knowledg to *Thy* Miracles of *Charity*, in healing the Blind, the Lame, the Deaf, the Dumb? Or shall I more insist upon the Acts of *Thy Power*, in checking the *Winds*, in walking on the *Waves*, in raising the *Dead*, in ejecting the impure *Spirits*? Or shall I remain stupified (as all the Learnedest part of the World was, which lay grovelling in the Contemplation of Inferiour Causes) that at *Thy* Coming, all their false *Oracles* and *Delusions* were strucken mute, and nothing to be heard at *Delphos*, or *Hammon*? Or shall I contemplate, that at *Thy Passion* all *Nature* did suffer, the *Earth* did shake, and the *Heavens* were darkened? Or lastly, after *Thou* hadst triumphed over *Death* and *Hell* (whose Keys are in thine hand) shall I glorifie *Thy Assumption* into the Highest *Heavens*?

Yes, *Lord*, all this, and much more there is then the whole World can contain, if it were written: Yet one thing remains, even after *Thy glorious Departure*, for the comfort of our *Souls*, above all the *Miracles* of *Thy Goodness*, and of *Thy Power*, That *Thou* hast dispensed *Thy saving Doctrine* unto curious Men, not only by Eloquent *Sophists*, and Subtil *School-men*, (such as have since distracted and torn thy *Church* in pieces;) but by the simplest and sillest *Instruments*: so as it must needs be *Thy Divine Truth*, since it was impressed by no *Humane Means*. For, give me leave again, my *dear Lord*, to demand, in

the Extaſie and Admiration of one of *Thy bleſſed Veſſels*, Where is the *Wiſe?* Where is the *Scribe?* Where is the *Diſputer* of this World? How ſhould we have known, how ſhould we have apprehended *Thy* Eternal Generation, if *Thou* hadſt not been pleaſed to vouchſafe a ſilly *Fiſherman* to lean on *Thy Breaſt*, and to inſpire him to tell us from his Boat, that, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God?*

Therefore to *Thee, Thou Incarnate Word*, and *Wiſdom* of the *Father*; *Thou* only true *Meſſias*, in whom all *Prophecies* are accompliſhed, and in whom the *Will* of *God*, and the *Deſires* of *Men* are fulfilled; look down upon us *Thy* unworthy *Creatures*, from where *Thou* ſitteſt in *Thy Glory:* Teach us *Thy Love*; but ſuch a *Love* as doth fear to offend *Thee:* Teach us *Thy Fear*; but ſuch a *Fear* as firſt doth love *Thee*. And indue us with *Thy Grace*, whileſt by *Thy Permiſſion* we walk on this *Globe*, which *Thy* bleſſed Feet have troden, to ſolemnize this *Day* of *Thy Nativity*, not with wanton Jollities, but with *Hymns* of Joy, and *Meditations* of like Comfort.

LET-

LETTERS
TO
SEVERALL
PERSONS.

LETTERS TO SEVERAL PERSONS.

To Sir *Arthur Throckmorton.*

SIR,

I Have been desirous of some fit opportunity, to render you humble thanks for a very kind Letter which I received from you; and I cannot have a fitter, then by the return of this Gentleman, who beareth much devotion to your Name. I will therefore by his honest hand, present you the service of a poor Scholar, for that is the highest of my own Titles, and in truth, the farthest end of my Ambition: This other Honour (wherewith it hath pleased His Majesty to cloath my unworthiness) belonging unproperly unto me; who, I hope, am both born, and formed in my Education, fitter to be an Instrument of Truth

then of Art. In the mean while, till His Majesty shall resolve me again into my own plain and simple Elements, I have abroad done my poor endeavour, according to these occasions which God hath opened.

This Gentleman leaveth *Italy* in present tranquillity, though not without a little fear of some alteration on the side of *Savoy*: Which Prince seemeth to have great and unquiet thoughts, and I think, they will lack no fomentation from abroad. Therefore after the remembrance of my most affectionate poor service to your self, and to my Honorable Ladies, your Wife and Daughters, and your whole House, (with which we are now so particularly conjoyned) I commit You and Them to our mercifull God.

Your willing Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

To Sir *Arthur Throckmorton.*

SIR,

I Am sorry, that having so good opportunity to write unto you, joyned with so much Obligation, I have withal so little matter at the present: yet I will entertain you with a few Rapsodies.

My Lord my Brother is returned a day sooner then he thought, out of *Kent*, for that the King (who

(who is now at *Hampton-Court*) hath appointed all his Counſellors, and all the Judges, to meet Him here to morrow about matters of the Mint, as it is voiced, perhaps to cover ſome greater Subject, and yet Money is a great one.

On Saturday the King goeth to *Windſor*, there to honour with his preſence both his Sons and his Favourites at their Inſtalments.

On Sunday laſt the new *Venetian* Ambaſſador had his firſt Audience at *Greenwich*: at which time the old took his leave, and received from the King three Honours, An addition of the *Engliſh* Lion to his Coat-Armour, Knight-hood, and the Sword with the Furniture from the Kings ſide, wherewith he had Knighted him: which laſt, being more then was done to any of his Predeceſſors, and done to him who had deſerved leſs then any, is enough to prove, that wiſe Kings know how to do graces, and hide affections: ſo myſtical things are Courts.

Now, to lead you a little abroad; for I have no more to ſay within our own viſible Horizon: We have advice out of *Germany*, that they have extorted from the Emperour his conſent to make *Matthias* King of the *Romans*: ſo as having firſt ſpoiled him of obedience and reverence; next, of his eſtates and titles; they have now reduced him to ſo low a caſe, that he is no longer Patron of his own voice. Howſoever, this violent cure is likely to ſettle the Motions of *Germany*; out of which Countrey, when they are quiet at home, they may perhaps ſend us ſome ſuiters hither. This is all (Sir) that I can write at the preſent; which is your advantage; for if there had been more, you had been further troubled: And ſo with many hearty

hearty thanks for your kind Letters, and with many hearty wishes for the prosperity of your whole House, I humbly rest

May 8. 1611.

Your most affectionate poor Friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON.

Feb. 1613.

SIR,

ONe Reason of my writing now unto you, is because it seemeth a great while unto me since I did so. Another, to give you many thanks (which upon the casting up of my reckonings, I find I have not yet done) for that Gelding wherewith you so much honoured me: which, in truth, either for goodness or beauty runneth for one of the very best about this place; And I have had a great deal of love made unto me for him by no small ones. After this, I must plainly tell you, that I mean to perswade you, I am sorry I cannot say, to invite you, (for my Mind would bear that word better then my Fortune) to bestow your self, and your whole Family upon us this *Shrovetide*, if it be but for three dayes at the conjunction of the *Thames* and the *Rhene*, as our ravished Spirits begin to call it. The occasion is rare, the expence of time but little, of money inconsiderable: You shall see divers Princes, a great confluence of Strangers, sundry entertainments to shorten your patience, and to reward your travel: Finally, nothing spared, even in a necessitous time. I will adde unto these Ar-

arguments, that out of your own Store at home, you may much encrease the beauty of this Assembly; and your Daughters shall not need to provide any great splendour of Cloathing, because they can supply that with a better contribution, as hath been well authenticated even by the Kings own testimony of them. For though I am no longer an Ambassador, yet am I not so bank-rupt of Intelligence, but that I have heard of those rural passages.

Now let me therefore, with this hobling Pen, again and again pray you to resolve upon your coming, if not with all the fair Train, yet your self and my Lady, and my Nephew and his Wife, or at the least of leaks, the Masculine.

We begin to lay off our mourning habits, and the Court will shortly, I think, be as merry as if it were not sick. The King will be here to morrow: The *Friday* following he goeth to *Windsor*, with the *Count Palatine*, about the Ceremony of his Instalment. In the mean time, there is expected the Count *Henry* of *Nassaw*, to be at the said Solemnity, as the Representant of his Brother. Yesternight, the *Count Palatine* invited all the Counsel to a solemn Supper, which was well ordered: He is a Gentleman of very sweet hope, and hath rather gained upon us, then lost any thing after the first Impression. And so, *Sir*, having ended my Paper, I will end my Letter with my hearty prayers for the prosperity of your self, and yours, ever resting

Your faithfull poor
Friend to serve you,

HENRY WOTTON.

To

To the King. 1615.

May it please Your Sacred Majesty,

I Beseech your Majesty to pardon me a little short repetition, how I have spent my time since my departure from your Royal sight, because I glory in your goodness.

I have been imployed by your favour in four several Treaties differing in the Matter, in the Instruments, and in the Affections.

The first was for the sequestration of *Juliers*, wherein I was joyned with the *French*.

The second for the provisional possession of the two Pretendents: wherein (contrary to the complaint of the Gospel) the Labourers were more then the Harvest.

The third was for a defensive League between the united Provinces and the united Princes: Who though they be separate Bodies of State, do now by your onely Mediation, make one Body of Strength.

The fourth was for the composing of some differences between your own and this People; in matter of Commerce; which hath exceeded the other Three, both in length and in difficulty, for two Reasons as I conceive it:

First, Through the sensibleness of the Subject, which is private Utility: next, because it had a secret commixture of publick respects, and those of no light consequence: For surely, it importeth more to let the King of *Spain* dispense alone the Commodities of the East, then for either of us to want them.

Now

Now of the three former Treaties, I have given your Majesty an accompt in divers Dispatches, according to my poor apprehensions. As for this last, they that have eased my weakness in the conduct thereof (I mean my good Associates, by whose light and leadings I have walked) will ease me likewise, by your gracious leave, in the Relation. By them it may please your Majesty to understand in what fair terms we have left it; somewhat resembling to my fancy those Women of *Nombre de Dios*, who (they say) are never brought to bed in the place where they conceive, but bring forth their children in a better Air: And so I hope that our travels and unformed conceptions will take life in your own Kingdome, which will be more honour to their Birth. For our parts, I dare affirm of these your Commissioners, that now return unto the comfort of your gracious Aspect, That they have discharged their Duties and their Consciences, with all faithfull care of your Majesties Commandments. I am confident likewise that they will give me their honest Testimony: And we are bound joyntly to profess unto your Majesty (from whom we receive our estimation) the respects and kindnesses that have been here done us, as your Vassals.

And so with my continual prayers to God for your blessed Being, I here remain, till your Majesty shall vouchsafe me again the grace of your eyes,

Your Majesties long
devoted poor Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

To

To the Marquess of *Buckingham*, *January* 25. 1619.

My most Noble Lord,

I Will be bold, by this opportunity, to give His Majesty, through your Lordships hands, an account of a Command which I had from him at *Theobalds*, about sounding how the *Venetian* Ambassador stood satisfied with the late determination touching his predecessor *Donato*.

I did visit the said Ambassador immediately at my return from the King, and saluted him, as by express Commandment; interjecting some words of mine own gladness, that he had received contentment in this tender point, which would signalize his beginnings. This I said, because in truth I had found him always before the more passionate in it, by some reflection upon himself. His answer (after due thanks for His Majesties gracious remembrance of him from abroad) was, that for his own part, he was *Contentissimo*, and had represented things home in the best manner. He hoped likewise it would be well tasted there also, though with some doubt, because the State, out of their own devotion towards His Majesty, might form a confidence of expecting more.

I replied, that the King upon the matter (if we consider disgrace) had done more then themselves: for he was but once banished at *Venice*, and twice here; *viz.* once from the verge of the Court, and secondly from *London*; which was as much as could be done with preservation of rational immunities, and

and more then would have been done at the ſuit of of any other Ambaſſador here reſident; or perhaps of any of their own hereafter, if the like Caſe ſhall occur. For (as I told him) it was the Kings expreſs will, that his particular reſpect to the Republick, and to him in this buſineſs, ſhould not be drawn into Examples. With this point he was not a little pleaſed, for his own glory; and ſaid, that indeed Maſter Secretary *Nanton* had told him ſo. This was the ſum of what paſſed between us, omitting impertinencies. Let me end, (my dear Lord) as I am bound, in all the uſe either of my pen, or of my voice, with an humble and hearty acknowledgement of my great obligations towards your Lordſhip, which will make me reſolve, and in good faith unhappy, till I can ſome way ſhew my ſelf,

Your Lordſhips moſt thankeful,
and faithful Servant,

H. W.

To the KING,

From *Auguſta* the $\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}8\\18\end{smallmatrix}\right\}$ of *Auguſt*, 1620.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Sacred Majeſty,

FRom this place I determined to make my firſt Diſpatch unto Your Majeſty, hoping in ſuch Cities and Courts vvhereunto I had addreſs on the vvay, to take up ſomewhat that ſhould be con-

considerable, and till then unwilling to entertain Your solicitous Mind with immaterial things.

I have hitherto been with five several Princes and Communities, the Duke of *Loraign*, the Arch-Duke *Leopoldus*, the Town of *Strasburg*, the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, and the Town of *Ulme*, in the same order as I have set them down; among whom I spent in all twelve days, and the rest of the time in uncessant journeys, whereof I shall now render Your Majesty a full account in the substance, retrenching impertinencies.

Unto the Duke of *Loraign*, I had no credential address from Your Royal hand; and yet to pass silently (like a stream through his Land) by a Prince of so near conjunction in blood with You, and interessed in the scope of my errand, as a member of the Empire, had been some incongruity. Therefore excusing (as I might justly) the want of Letters, with my purpose to have taken another way, till I heard that the *French* King had cleared the confines of *Loraign*, by drawing such Forces as lay hovering there, with some hazard of Passengers, over the River of *Marne* towards *Normandy*: I say, after this excuse, I told him, I knew Your Majesty would be singularly pleased to understand by me of his health; and that I had, *in transitu*, conferred with him Your Christian ends, wherein You could not but expect at his hands a concurrence both of Counsel and Affection. This I said, to draw civilly from him as much as I could, being a Prince cumbred (as I found him) with the *German* troubles on the one side, and the *French* on the other; and therefore bound to study the passages of both: especially having a State, which perhaps is harder for him to keep neutral then himself. In the rest of my

my discourse, I possessed him with two main heads of mine Instructions: First, with Your Majesties innocency in the *Bohemian* business at the beginning; next, with Your impartiality therein, even to this hour: both which did render You in this cause, the fittest Mediator of the World. And so I shut up all with this, That God had given Your Majesty two eminent blessings; the one, Peace at home, the other (which was surely the greater, and the rarer) a Soul desirous of the like abroad; which You found Your self tied in the Conscience of a Christian King to prosecute by all possible means: and therefore, though You had before in the beginning of the *Bohemian* Motions, sent Your good meaning by a solemn Ambassage to the Emperor, in the Person of a dear and zealous Servant of great Quality, even before any other King had entred into it, which, through the crudity of the matter, as then, took not the wished effect: yet now hoping that time it self, and the experience of vexation, had mollified the affections, and better digested the difficulties, You had not refused by several Ambassages to both sides, and to all the intervenient Princes and States, to attempt again this high and Christian Work. Thus much, though in effect extracted from Your Majesties own directions, I have here once rehearsed, to save the repetition thereof in my following Audiences at other places.

The Dukes answer was more tender, then free, lamenting much the present condition of things, commending as much Your Majesties good mind, proclaiming his own, remitting the whole to those great and wise Kings that had it in hand, and concluding (with a voice, me thought, lower then before, as if he had doubted to be overheard, though

in his private Chamber) that the Princes of the Union vvould tell me vvhat his affections vvere in the Cauſe: For vvhich I gave him thanks, commending in all events to his continual memory, that Your Majeſties Daughter, my gracious Lady, and her Deſcendents vvere of the Bloud of *Loraign*: Yea, ſaid he, and the *Elector* likewiſe. This vvas all that paſſed from him of any moment. After vvhich, he brought me to *Monſieur de Vaudemont*, vvhoſe principal buſineſs (as I hear) at the preſent, is to vvork the Dukes aſſent, and the Popes diſpenſation, for a Marriage between his own Son and his Brothers Daughter; a thing much affected by that People, and no doubt fomented by *France*, to keep ſo important a Province from Strangers. In the mean vvhile *de Vaudemont's* Son, for improvement of his merit and fame, is beſtowed in the Command of thoſe Troops vvhich vvere ſuffered to paſs the Rheine at *Bryſack* on *Whitſon-Monday* laſt. Before I leave *Loraign*, I cannot but advertiſe Your Majeſty that at *Faltsbourg*, a Town in the confines of that Province towards *Elſatia* (inhabited and built by many good men of the Religion) the Miniſters came unto me, bewailing the caſe of the Inhabitants, vvho for ſome thirty years had poſſeſſed that place quietly, till of late by inſtigation of the Jeſuits at *Nancy*, the Duke had given them vvarning to be gone vvithin the term of two years, vvhereof ſome good part vvas expired. Their requeſt unto me vvas, that by Your Majeſties gracious Mediation, they might be received into a place vvithin the *Palatine* Juriſdiction, near their preſent ſeat, which they offered to enlarge, and fortifie at their own charge, upon the grant of reaſonable immunities: vvhich I have aſſumed to

treat

treat by Letter with Your Majesties Son-in-law, needing no other commission from Your Majesty in things of this nature, then Your own goodness.

The Arch-Duke *Leopald*, I was forced to seek three days journey from his ordinary seat; where, being at his private sports of the field, and no fit things about him, he desired me to turn back half a days journey to *Mulzham*, the notorious nest of *Jesuits*: commanding the Governors of his Towns, in the mean time, to use me with all due respects; among whom he made choice of an *Italian*, by name *Ascanio Albertine*, (a man of singular confidence with him, and surely of very fair conditions) to sound me, though in a merry fashion, and half laughing, (as there was good cause) how I would taste it, if he should receive me in the *Jesuits* Colledge: for at *Mulzham* those were his Hosts, being destitute of other habitation. I answered him, as merrily as it was propounded, that I knew the *Jesuits* had every where the best rooms, more splendent then true, fitter to lodge Princes then Monks, and that their habitations were always better then themselves. Moreover, that for mine own part, though I was not much afraid of their infection; and that Saint *Paul* did not refuse to be carried in a Ship, which was consecrated to false Gods; yet because on our side they were generally, and (no doubt) justly reputed the true causes of all the troubles of the Christian World, I doubted it would be a scandalous Reception; and that besides, those Artificers would go near to make appear on my part, a kind of silent approbation of their Order and course. This was my answer, which being faithfully transported by the *Italian*, the Arch-Duke made choice of another mean house in the

Town, where he received me truly in a noble sweet fashion: to whom having presented Your Majesties Letters, and Love, he disposed himself with sharp attention to hear me. To him, besides that which I had said to the Duke of *Loraign*, I added two things:

The first, that not only Your Majesty was clear of all fore-knowledge, or counsel, in the business of *Bohemia*; but likewise Your Son-in-law himself of any precedent practice therein, till it was laid upon him, as You knew by his own high affirmations, and most infallible testimonies.

The second, that though Your Majesty to this hour did continue as equal betwixt both parties, as the *Equinoctial* between the *Poles*, yet about the time of my departure You were much moved, and the whole Land likewise, with a voice, I know not how spread abroad, that there were great preparations to invade the Nether *Palatinate*; which if it did fall out, Your Majesty should have just reason to think Your Moderation unthankfully requited; the said *Palatinate* being the Patrimonial Lands of Your own Descendents, and no way connexed with the *Bohemian* Business. Whereupon I perswaded him fairly, in Your Majesties Name, being a Personage of such authority in the present actions, to keep them from any such precipitious and impertinent rupture as might preclude all Mediation of Accord: and because Your Majesty had now, which was a second Argument of Your equity, sent several Ambassadors to the Fountains, for Your better information in the merit of the Cause, by Your own Instruments, I besought him to illuminate me, who was the weakest of Your Creatures, as far as he should think fit, and to assist me with his best advice

vice towards this good end, whereunto, beſides the dear Commandment of the King my Maſter, I would confer mine own plain and honeſt zeal.

His anſwer, to all the points, which he had very orderly laid up, was this: Of Your Majeſties own clearneſs he profeſſed much aſſurance; of Your Son-in-law as much doubt, charging him both with cloſe practice with the *Bohemians* at the time of the Emperors Election at *Francfort*, and more foully with a new practice, either by himſelf or by others, to introduce the *Turk* into *Hungary*. Of any deſign upon the Lower *Palatinate*, he utterly diſavowed all knowledge on his part; yet would not deny, but the Marqueſs *Spinola* might perchance have ſome ſuch aim; and if things went on, as they do, men would no doubt aſſail their enemies whereſoever they ſhould find them. In ſuch ambiguous clouds as theſe, he wrapped this point. Of the Emperors inclination to an agreement, he bade me be very aſſured; but never vvithout reſtitution of the uſurped Kingdom, vvhich vvas not a loſs of eaſie concoction, eſpecially being taken from him by the Count *Palatine* his Subject, as he often called him; and once added, that he thought he vvould not deny it himſelf. Of the merit of the cauſe, he ſaid he had ſent divers records and papers to the Emperor, vvhere I ſhould find them.

Laſtly, he acknowledged himſelf much bound unto Your Majeſty for the honour You had done him, to take ſuch knowledge of his Perſon, and was contented to beſtow ſome thanks upon me for mine honeſt inclination, which he would preſent, before my arrival, at *Vienna*. I had almoſt omitted a point touched by him, that he had knowledge of ſome *Engliſh* Levies coming toward the *Palatinate*:

nate: About which I cleared him, with confessing that Your Majesties People, and some of Your principal Nobility, had taken Alarm upon a voice of an Invasion there, and meant voluntarily to sacrifice themselves in that action; but vvithout any concurrence of Your Majesty thereunto, either by money or command. To which he replied, that in truth so he had heard, and made no question of Your Royal Integrity. In the afternoon of this day, he took me abroad with him in his Coach, to shew me some of his nearer Towns and Fortifications; and there descended into many familiarities, and amongst other, to shew us how to make Frogs leap at their own skins: a strange purchase, me thought, at a time when Kingdoms are in question: But it may be it was an Art to cover his weightier Meditations.

Amongst other discourse, there was some mention of Your Majesties Treaty with *Spain*, in point of Alliance; which I told him, was a concluded business: for that warrant I had from Your own Royal mouth in Your Gallery at *Theobalds*, having let fall none of Your syllables. Whereupon he said, That he did not despair upon so good an occasion, to salute Your Majesty in Your own Court. The morning following, he sent unto me *Seignior Ascanio*, with express desire, that since Your Majesties intentions were so clear, I would as frankly acquaint him, whether in mine Instructions I had any particular form of accord to project unto the Emperor: which himself likewise at my second Audience did somewhat importunely press, excusing his curiosity with a good meaning, to prepare the Emperor, in as good manner as he could, to accept it. My answer was, that Your Majesty thought it first ne-

neceſſary on both ſides to diſpoſe the affections, and then by reciprocal Intelligence between Your Servants, from *Vienna* and *Prague*, to collect ſome meaſure of Agreement; for otherwiſe, if we ſhould find both Parties fixed in extream reſolutions, it were a folly to ſpend any further the Honour of our Maſter. Here again he told me, that I ſhould find the Emperor peſwaſible enough, if his Reputation may be ſaved: and for his own part, he thought that the Count *Palatine*, being the Inferior, might yield without prejudice of his. To terms of this height he revolved, and of the ſame complexion are his Letters to Your Majeſty, that I ſend herewith, of which I muſt needs ſay, that in ſome part, *Olent Patrem Henricum*, ſo they call a *Jeſuit* of inward credit with him. Always true it is, that they were couched in the Colledge, for his Secretaries were abſent, as the *Italian* told me, at his ordinary place of reſidence. At my leave-taking, he ſpake with much reverence of Your Majeſty, with much praiſe of Your Chriſtian mind, and with much thankfulneſs of the Honour You had done him. He is a Prince of good ſtature, of fair complexion, inclining to fulneſs: His face, the very beſt, as they tell me, of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and better indeed then his faſhion. No curioſity in his clothing, no affectation in his diſcourſe; extream affable, both to ſtrangers, and among his own: Patient of labour, and delighting in motion. In ſum, little of a Biſhop, ſave the Biſhoprick and a long Coat; with which ſhort character of his Perſon, I have taken the boldneſs to end, being (as I conceive it) the duty of Servants to repreſent unto their Maſters the Images of thoſe (with whom they treat) and as well their natural as artificial Impreſſions.

Of *Strasburg* and *Ulm*, I may speak conjunctively, being of one nature; both free, and both jealous of their freedom, which makes them fortifie apace. Towards me likewise they joyned in one point of good respect, namely, in not suffering me to come to their Senate-house, but in treating with me where I was lodged by the deputed Persons, out of the reverence (as they professed) due to Your Majesty, who had done them so much honour with Your Letters, and with communication of Your ends by Your humble Servant. They both commended Your Majesties Christian intensions, and professed themselves hitherto in the same Neutrality; but because it were uncivil for them to contribute their Counsels, where such Kings did employ their Wisdom and Authority, they would only contribute their Prayers, with the like temperate conceits as these, appearing likewise in their Letters, which I send by this Bearer.

Into the Duke of *Wirtenberg*'s Court I was received very nobly, and kindly feasted at his Table, with the Princes, and other great Ladies, and most part of the day lead by himself, to view his Gardens, Buildings, and other Delights.

The material points collected here, I must divide partly into my discourse with himself, and partly into such knowledge as he commanded *Monsieur Buvinckhousen* to give me, which cometh in a Paper apart, being very material.

In his own Speech, he made great profession towards Your Majesty, wherein no Prince of the Empire should exceed him; and as much toward the King of *Bohemia*, as he ever called Your Son-in-law: of whose clearness from all precedent practice, when I fell to speak, he told me, that in that point

point he would eaſe me; for himſelf viſiting the Elector, a little after he was choſen, he found him extreamly perplexed, even to effuſion of tears, between theſe two conſiderations, That if he accepted the offer, the World would falſely conceive it to have ſprung from his Ambition; if he refuſed it, that People was likely to fall into deſperate Counſels, vvith danger of calling more then Chriſtian help. In the reſt of his diſcourſe, I was glad to hear him often vow, that he vvould defend the *Palatinate* with all his power, being tied thereunto not only by the Bond of Confederacy, but likewiſe by Reaſon of State, not to ſuffer a Stranger to neighbor him.

I have now ended for the preſent Your Majeſties trouble. There remain of my Commiſſion, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Emperor. The Duke of *Bavaria* I ſhall find actually in arms about *Lintz*, in the upper *Auſtria*, and the Emperor at *Vienna*: from both places I will make ſeveral Diſpatches unto Your Majeſty, and afterwards weekly, or more frequently, as the occaſion ſhall riſe. Let this in the mean time end in my humble thanks to Almighty God for the repoſe of Your own Eſtates, and in my hearty Prayers for the preſervation of Your dear and ſacred Perſon.

Octob. 1620.

Right Honourable,

OF my purpoſe to depart from *Vienna*, and to leave the Emperour to the Counſels of his own Fortune, I gave his Majeſty knowledge by my ſervant *James Vary*.

I will now make you a summary accompt of what hath happened here, which is to be done both out of Duty to your Place, and out of Obligation to your Friendship.

The Count *Tampier* had some twelve dayes since taken from the *Hungarians* by surprisal in the Field, thirteen Cornets of Horse, and one Ensign of Foot, which here with much ostentation were carried up and down, and laid on Sunday was sevennight under the Emperours feet, as he came from the Chappel.

Some note, that the vanity of this triumph was greater then the merit; for the *Hungarians* by their ordinary discipline, abound in Cornets, bearing one almost for every twenty Horse, so as Flags are good cheap amongst them, and but slightly guarded: Howsoever the matter be made more or less, according to the wits on both sides, this was *breve gaudium*, and it self indeed some cause of the following disaster; For the Count *Tampier*, being by nature an enterprising man, was now also inflamed by accident, which made him immediately conceive the surprisal of *Presburg*, while the Prince of *Transilvania* was retired to the siege of *Guns*, some six or seven Leagues distant. A project in truth, if it had prospered, of notorious utility.

First by the very reputation of the Place, being the Capital Town of *Hungaria*.

Next, the access to *Comar* and *Rab*, (which places only the Emperour retaineth in that Kingdome of any considerable value) had been freed by water, which now in a manner are blocked up.

Thirdly, the incursions into these Provinces, and ignominious depredations had been cut off.

And

And laſtly, the Crown of *Hungaria* had been recovered, which the Emperour *Matthias* did tranſport to the Caſtle of *Presburg*, after the depoſition of *Rodolph* his Brother, who alwayes kept it in the Caſtle of *Prague*; which men account one of the ſubtil things of that retired Emperour, as I hear by diſcourſe. So as upon theſe conſiderations, the enterpriſe was more commendable in the deſign, then it will appear in the execution; being thus carried.

From hence to *Presburg* is in this moneth of *October* an eaſie nights journey by water. Thither on Thurſday night of the laſt week, *Tampier* himſelf, accompanied with ſome four or five Colonels, and other remarkable men of this Court, reſolves to bring down in 25 Boats, about 3000 Foot, or ſuch a matter; having given order, and ſpace enough before, for certain Horſe, partly *Dutch*, and partly *Polonians*, to be there, and to attend his coming about two hours before Friday morning. And to ſhadow this purpoſe, himſelf on Thurſday in the afternoon, with affected noiſe goes up the River the contrary way, though no reaſonable imaginations could conceive whither; for the lower *Auſtria* was then all reduced. By which Artificial delay, and by ſome natural ſtops in the ſhallows of the water, when they fell ſilently down again, it was three or four hours of clear day before he arrived at *Presburg* the next morning: Where his meaning was, firſt to deſtroy the Bridge built upon Boats, and thereby to keep *Bethlehem Gabor*, (as then on the *Auſtrian* ſide) not only from ſuccouring the Town, but from all poſſibility of repaſſing the *Danuby* nearer then *Buda*. Next, to apply the *Petard* to one of the Gates of the

the *Cittadel*. Some say, he had likewise inward intelligence, that at his approach, the Wicket of the Castle should be opened unto him by one *Palfy* an *Hungarian* Gentleman; which conceit, though perchance raised at first to animate the Souldier, yet hath gotten much credit, by seeing the enterprise against all discourse continued by day-light. Be that point how it will, his fatal hour was come: for approaching a Skonce that lyes by the Castle-gate, and turning about to cry for his men to come on, he was shot in the lowest part of his Skull neerest his Neck, after which he spake no syllable, as *Don Carolo d' Austria* (second base Son to *Rodolph* the Emperour, and himself at that time saved by the goodness of his Armour) doth testifie. After which, some two or three Souldiers attempting to bring away his Body, and those being shot, the rest gave it over, and the whole Troops transported themselves to the other side, leaving the Boats behind them, as if they had meant to contribute new provision for the mending of the Bridge, whereof they had only broken one little piece.

This was the end of the Count *Tampier*; By his Fathers side a *Norman*, by his Mothers a *Champaigne*, a servant twenty two years to the House of *Austria*. Himself Captain of a thousand Horse: but Commander divers times in chief, especially before the coming of the Count *Bucquoy*, from whom he was severed to these nearer Services, being of incompatible natures: a valiant, and plotting Souldier; In Encounters more fortunate then Sieges; Gracious to his own, and terrible to the *Hungarians*. To the present Emperour most dear, though perchance, as much for Civil, as Mili-

Military Merit: for this vvas the very man that firſt ſeized upon the Cardinal *Cleſel*, vvhen he vvas put into a Coach, and tranſported hence to *Tirol*: So as now vve may expect ſome Pamphlet the next Mart from *Ingolſtat*, or *Colen*; That no man can end vvell, vvho hath laid violent hands upon any of thoſe *Roman Purpurati*.

To this point, I muſt adde two remarkable Circumſtances; The firſt, that *Tampier*, among other Papers found in his Pockets, is ſaid to have had a Memorial of certain Conditions, vvhereon it ſhould be fit to inſiſt in his Parley vvith the Town, as having already ſwallowed the Caſtle. The other, that his Head having been cut off by a Souldier, and ſold for five Dollars to another, vvho meant to have the merit of preſenting it to the Prince, the Preſenter vvas rewarded vvith a ſtroke of a Sable, for inſulting over the dead Carkaſs of a Gentleman of Honour.

Lord *Bacon* to Sir *Henry Wotton*.

My very good Couſin,

YOur Letter which I received from your Lordſhip upon your going to Sea, was more then a compenſation for any former omiſſion; and I ſhall be very glad to entertain a correſpondence with you in both kinds, which you write of: for the latter whereof I am now ready for you, having ſent you ſome Ure of that Mine. I thank you for your Favours to Mr. *Mewtus*, and

I pray continue the ſame. So wiſhing you out of that honourable Exile, and placed in a better Orb, I ever reſt,

York-houſe
Octob. 20.
1620.

Your Lordſhips
affectionate Kinſman
and aſſured Friend,

Fr. Verulam Canc.

Sir *Henry Wotton* to Lord *Bacon.*

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Have your Lordſhips Letters dated the 20th. of *October*, and I have withal by the care of my Couſin Mr. *Thomas Meautis*, and by your own ſpecial favour, three Copies of that Work, wherewith your Lordſhip hath done a great and ever-living benefit to all the children of Nature; and to Nature her ſelf, in her uttermoſt extent and latitude: who never before had ſo noble nor ſo true an Interpreter, or (as I am readier to ſtyle your Lordſhip) never ſo inward a Secretary of her Cabinet: But of your ſaid Work (which came but this Week to my hands) I ſhall find occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter; having yet read only the firſt Book thereof, and a few Aphoriſmes of the ſecond. For it is not a Banquet, that men may ſuperficially taſte, and put up the reſt in their Pockets;

ets; but in truth, a ſolid feaſt, which requireth due maſtication. Therefore when I have once my ſelf peruſed the whole, I determine to have it read piece by piece at certain hours in my domeſtick Colledge, as an ancient Author: For I have learn'd thus much by it already, that we are extreamly miſtaken in the computation of Antiquity, by ſearching it backwards, becauſe indeed the firſt times were the youngeſt; eſpecially in points of natural diſcovery and experience. For though I grant, that *Adam* knew the natures of all Beaſts, and *Solomon* of all Plants, not only more then any, but more then all ſince their time; Yet that was by divine infuſion, and therefore they did not need any ſuch *Organum* as your Lordſhip hath now delivered to the world; nor we neither, if they had left us the memories of their wiſdom.

But I am gone further then I meant in ſpeaking of this excellent Labour, while the delight yet I feel, and even the pride that I take in a certain Congeniality (as I may term it) with your Lordſhips ſtudies, will ſcant let me ceaſe: And indeed I owe your Lordſhip even by promiſe (which you are pleaſed to remember, thereby doubly binding me) ſome trouble this way; I mean, by the commerce of *Philoſophical* Experiments, which ſurely, of all other, is the moſt ingenuous Traffick: Therefore, for a beginning, let me tell your Lordſhip a pretty thing which I ſaw coming down the *Danuby*, though more remarkable for the Application, then for the Theory. I lay a night at *Lintz*, the Metropolis of the higher *Auſtria*; but then in very low eſtate, having been newly taken by the Duke of *Bavaria*: who, *blandiente fortunâ*, was gone on to the late effects: There I found *Keplar*, a man

a man famous in the Sciences, as your Lordship knows, to whom I purpose to convey from hence one of your Books, that he may see we have some of our own that can honour our King, as well as he hath done with his *Harmanica*. In this mans study I was much taken with the draught of a Landskip on a piece of paper, me thoughts masterly done: whereof enquiring the Author, he bewrayed with a smile, it was himself; adding, he had done it, *Non tanquam Pictor, sed tanquam Methematicus*. This set me on fire: At last he told me how. He hath a little black Tent, (of what stuff is not much importing) which he can suddenly set up where he will in a Field, and it is convertible (like a Wind-mill) to all quarters at pleasure, capable of not much more then one man, as I conceive, and perhaps at no great ease; exactly close and dark, save at one hole, about an inch and a half in the *Diameter*, to which he applies a long perspective Trunk, with the convex-glass fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected Tent, through which the visible radiations of all the objects without, are intromitted, falling upon a paper, which is accommodated to receive them, and so he traceth them with his pen in their natural appearance, turning his little Tent round by degrees, till he hath deligned the whole Aspect of the Field. This I have described to your Lordship, because I think there might be good use made of it for Chorography: for otherwise, to make Landskips by it were illiberal; though surely no Painter can do them so precisely. Now from these artificial and natural curiosities, let me a little direct your Lordship to the contemplation of *Fortune*.

Here,

Here, by a sleight Battel full of miserable errours (if I had leisure to set them down) all is reduced, or near the point. In the Provinces there is nothing but of fluctuation and submission, the ordinary consequences of Victory; wherein the triumphs of the Field do not so much vex my soul, as the triumphs of the Pulpit: For what noise will now the Jesuite disseminate more in every corner, then *victrix causa Deo placuit*; which yet was but the Gospel of a Poet: No, my Lord, when I revolve what great things *Zisca* did in the first troubles of his Countrey, that were grounded upon conscience, I am tempted to believe the All-distinguishing eye hath been more displeased with some humane affections in this business, then with the business it self.

I am now preparing my departing toward my other imployment, for in my first Instructions I had a power to go hence, when this controversie should be decided, either by Treaty, or by Fortune; whereof now the worser means have perverted the better.

Here I leave the *French* Ambassadors upon the Stage, as I found them; being willing (*quod solum superest*) to deal between the Emperour and *Bethlehem Gabor*, with whom I have nothing to do as he is now singled.

Betwixt this and *Italy* I purpose to collect the memorablest Observations that I have taken of this great Affair, and to present a Copy thereof unto your Lordships indulgent, not to your severe judgement.

The present I cannot end (though I have too much usurped upon your precious time) without the return of my humble thanks unto your Lord-

ſhip, for the kind remembrance of my Couſin Mr. *John Meautis* in your Letter to me, and of your recommendation of him before; being a Gentleman, in truth of ſweet conditions and ſtrong abilities: I ſhall now tranſport him over the Alpes, where we will both ſerve your Lordſhip, and love one another. And ſo beſeeching God to bleſs your Lordſhip with long life and honour, I humbly reſt,

Your Lordſhips,

Right Honourable,

OF my appearing to this State, and of my reception here, I gave your Lordſhip notice by my former Letters.

The Counſels of this State I find to be calm; for the new Pope hath aſſured them, He will keep ſtorms out of *Italy*.

True it is, that he hath bravely denied already paſſage to the *Neopolitan Cavalry* and *Infantry*, through the Eccleſiaſtical State, though inſtantly preſſed by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; in which Humour, if hee ſhall perſevere without warping, we ſhall think him here a well-ſeaſoned piece of Timber.

We hear of an Ambaſſador from *Savoy* on his way to you; *C. C.* a plain Inſtrument from a ſubtle Prince, and therefore the more proper to deceive us, and to be firſt deceived himſelf. The buſineſs I ſhall need not to tell you, nor indeed can I ſay much of the hope of it.

How

How we stand here, will appear by the two enclosed Copies.

—But for those things I shall give his Majesty continual advertisement, as time shall change the prospect of this Theater, whereon I am placed.

So with all my duties remembred, as well those of Thankfulness, as those of Affection, I will subscribe my self, as truly I am,

Your Lordships, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

This very Morning, which is the *Nuncio*'s ordinary day of Audience, He hath surprized the Duke and Senators with presentation of a Jubile unto them from his Master. Some discourse, that it is to gain Fame and Favour by an indulgent Beginning.

To the Marquess of *Buckingham.*

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

I Know your Lordship cannot want Presents of the best kind from all Countreys, if you would be but pleased to bewray your Desire; For your Favour is worthy to be studied, both because

you are powerfull, and becauſe in the common judgement (of which we hear the ſound, that are far off) you imploy your power nobly.

For my part, though I am not able to reach unto any thing proportionable to your Dignity, nor even to mine own mind; yet I muſt not ſuffer *Venice* (where I have ſerved the King ſo long) to be wholly diſgraced. And therefore I have taken the boldneſs in a Ship newly departed from this Harbour, to ſend your Lordſhip two Boxes of poor things: which becauſe they need a little explication, not ſo much for their value, as their uſe, I have deſired Mr. *Nicholas Pey*, one of the Clerks of his Majeſties Kitchin, who is my friend of truſt at home in all my occaſions, to acquaint your Lordſhip with a note of them. Wherein my end is plain, only to excite your Lordſhip with this little taſte, to command me further in whatſoever may better pleaſe you. And ſo I moſt humbly commit you to Gods bleſſed Love.

Venice, this
16. of *May*.

Your Lordſhips
with all devotion
to ſerve you,
H. Wotton.

To the Lord Keeper *Williams*, (*ut videtur*) 162½.

Right Reverend, and Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

HAving not yet paſſed with your good Lordſhip ſo much as the common duty of Congratulation, (to whom I am ſo obliged, both

both for your love to my deareſt Nephew, and for your gracious remembrances of mine own poor Name) I thought it even a particular duty to my ſelf, to acquaint your Lordſhips Secretary, my ancient and worthy Friend, with the Story of mine own evils, that your Lordſhip may know my ſilence to have been, as I may well term it, a Symptome of my infirmity.

I am now ſtrong again to ſerve your Lordſhip, and I know that I have a Friend of truſt at home (it is honeſt *Nicholas Pey* that I mean) who hath often leave, by your Favour to wait upon you. Therefore I could wiſh, if this place (where I am grown almoſt a free Deniſon) may yield any thing for your uſe or delight, that you would be pleaſed either to acquaint me by my ſaid Friend plainly (which ſhall be a new obligation) with your Commands, or at leaſt to let him mark your Deſires. Now in the mean time, becauſe I know that I can do your Lordſhip no greater Service, then to give you occaſion of exerciſing your own goodneſs, I will take the freedome moſt humbly and heartily to recommend unto your charitable and honourable affections, a very worthy Perſon, whoſe fortune is no better at the preſent, then to be my Chaplain; though we are, or at leaſt ought all to be the better by his vertuous example, and our time the better ſpent by his learned converſation. I ſhall, I think, not need to name him to your Lordſhip, and as little to inſiſt either upon his moral or intellectual merit. Therefore I will ſo leave it, and commit him to your gracious Memory, upon ſome good occaſion that God may lay before you. And now I would end, but that I conceive it a duty to tell your Lordſhip firſt, how

we stand here at this date. For Ambassadors (in our old *Kentish* Language) are but Spies of the time.

We are studying how we may safely and cheaply countenance the new Motions of the *Garisons*, with an Army on our own Borders pointing that way; which even Reason of State requireth, when our Neighbours are stirring. And therefore yet the King of *Spain* can take no scandal at a common wisdome. If the Successes shall go forward according to the beginnings, Prosperity, peradventure, may invite us, further to the Feast. For my part, if they would have tasted my Counsels, they had been long since engaged, both within and without *Italy*. But I dig in a Rock of Diamonds. And so concluding with my hearty Congratulations for your Lordships Promotions, both Spiritual and Civil, and with my prayers for your long enjoyment of them, I will unfaignedly subscribe my self,

Your good Lordships

devoted to serve you,

H. W.

SIR,

HAving not long written unto you, whose Friendship towards me hath given you a great interest in me; I send you a Report of a late Transaction, even for a little entertainment,

ment, lest you should think me to live without observation.

For that the Case of the late Cavalier *Antonio Foscarini* hath been diversly misreported, and perhaps not the least, even by those that were his Judges, to cover their own disgrace, I have thought a little curiosity not ill spent in research of the whole Proceeding, that his Majesty (to whom he was so well known) may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example. There is among the partitions of this Government a very awfull Magistracy under Title of *Inquisitori di Stato*; to which are commonly deputed three Gentlemen of the gravest and severest natures, who receive all secret Delations in matter of practice against the Republick, and then refer the same, as they shall judge the consequence thereof, to the Decemviral Councel, being the supreamest Tribunal in criminal Enquiries; of which Body they are usually themselves.

To these Inquisitors, about the beginning of *April* last, came two Fellows of mean condition, born about the *Lago di Garda*, but Inhabitants in *Venice*, by name *Girolamo* and *Domenico Vani*; as some say, Uncle and Nephew: certainly near of kindred, which in this report is a weighty circumstance; for thereby they were the likelier to conspire, and consequently their united testimonies of the less validity. These Persons capitulate with the Inquisitors of that time (whose names may be civilly spared) about a reward (which is usual) for the discovery of some Gentlemen, which at undue times, and in disguised Forms, did haunt the Houses of Forraign Ministers, and in particular, of the *Spanish* Agent: who being the most obnoxious to

Publick jealousie, these Accusers were likelier upon that Subject to gain a favourable hearing. In the head of their secret List, they nominate *Antonio Foscarini*, then an actual Senator, and thereby upon pain of death restrained from all conference in this ombragious State with publick Instruments, unless by special permission. To verifie their discovery, besides their own testimonies, they alledge one *Giovan Battista*, who served the foresaid *Spanish* Agent, and had, as they said, acquainted them with the accesses of such and such Gentlemen unto him. But first they wished, or so the Inquisitors thought fit, to proceed against *Foscarini*, upon this double attestation, without examining the foresaid *Giovan Battista*; because that would stir some noise, and then perhaps those other, whom they meant to delate, might take fear and escape: Hereupon *Foscarini*, coming from the next Senate at night down the Palace, was by order of the Inquisitors suddenly muffled, and so put in close Prison, and after usual examinations, his own single denial being not receivable against two agreeing Informers, he was by sentence at the Councel of *Ten*, some fifteen days after his retention, strangled in Prison, and on the 21. of the foresaid *April*, was hanged by one leg on a Gallows in the publick *Piazza*, from break of day till Sun-set, with all imaginable circumstances of infamy: his very face having been bruised by dragging on the ground, though some did confer that for a kind of favour, that he might be the less known.

After this the same Artificers pursue their occupation, now animated with success; and next they name *Marco Miani*. But one of the Inquisitors, either by nature more advised then the rest,

or

or intenerated vvith that vvhich vvas already done, vvould by no means proceed any farther, vvithout a pre-examination of the foreſaid *Giovan Battiſta*: vvhich novv might the more conveniently, and the more ſilently be taken, becauſe he had left the houſe of the *Spaniſh* Agent, and was married in the Town to a Gold-ſmiths Daughter. To make ſhort, they dravv this man to a ſecret account; vvhere he doth not only diſavovv the having ever ſeen any Gentleman in the *Spaniſh* Agents houſe, but likevviſe all ſuch intereſt as the Accuſers did pretend to have in his acquaintance, having never ſpoken vvith any of them, but only three vvords by chance with the elder, namely *Girolamo*, upon the *Piazza di St. Stephano*. Hereupon the Inquiſitors confronted him vvith the Accuſers; they confeſs vvithout any torture their malicious Plot, and had ſentence to be hanged, as vvas afterwards done. But now the voice running of this detection, the Nephews of the executed *Cavalier*, namely *Nicolo* and *Girolamo Foſcarini*, make haſte to preſent a Petition (in all opinion moſt equitable) to the Decemviral Tribunal, That the falſe Accuſers of the aboveſaid *Marco Miani*, might be re-examined likewiſe about their Uncle. The Counſel of *Ten*, upon this Petition, did aſſemble early in the morning, which had not been done in long time before; and there they put to voices, Whether the Nephews ſhould be ſatisfied?

In the firſt *Ballotation*, the *Balls* were equal: in the ſecond, there was one *Ball* more (as they ſay) in the negative *Box*: Either becauſe the falſe Witneſſes, being now condemned men, were diſabled by courſe of Law to give any farther teſtimony, or for that the Councel of *Ten* thought it wiſdom to ſmother an irre-

irrevocable error. The Petition being denied, no poſſible way remained for the Nephews to clear the defamation of their Uncle (which in the rigour of this Government, had been likewiſe a ſtop to their own Fortunes) but by means of the Confeſſor, to whom the *Delinquents* ſhould disburthen their ſouls before their death; and by him, at importunity of the ſaid Nephews, the matter was revealed: Whereupon did enſue a ſolemn Declaration of the Councel of *Ten*, touching the innocency of the foreſaid *Anthonio Foſcarini*, eight months and twenty five days after his death. Whether in this caſe there were any mixture of private paſſion, or that perhaps ſome light humours, to which the Party was ſubject, together with the taint of his former Impriſonment, might precipitate the credulity of the Judges, I dare not diſpute: But ſurely in 312. years that the Decemviral Tribunal hath ſtood, there was never caſt upon it a greater blemiſh, which being ſo high a Piece, and on the reputation of whoſe grave and indubitable proceedings the regiment of manners hath moſt depended, is likely to breed no good conſequence upon the whole. Since the foreſaid Declaration, the Nephews have removed the body of their Uncle from a place where condemned Perſons are of cuſtom interred, to the Monument of their *Anceſtors* in another Temple, and would have given it a ſolemn Burial: But having been kept (though rather by diſſwaſion then prohibition) from increaſing thereby the publick Scandal, they now determine to repair his fame with an Epitaph, the laſt of miſerable remedies. It is ſaid, that at the removing of his body, his heart was found whole: which kind of conceits are eaſily entertained in this Country, and

ſcant

scant any notable case without some superstitious adjunct. It is said likewise, that by Testament he did appoint a great sum for him that should discover his innocency: which receiving from credible Authors, I was willing not to omit; because it argueth, that notwithstanding some outward lightness, he was composed of generous Elements. Certain it is, that he left divers Legacies to the best Patriots, as now appeareth not artificially. But here I may breed a question, with which I will end this report: How a man in his case could dispose of his Fortune? I must answer, That in the composition of this State Confiscations are rare, be the Crime never so high, unless in case of interverting the publick Money; which the Delinquent is commonly condemned to repair, not so much in the quality of a Traitor, as of a Debtor. Whereof searching the reason, I find this to be the most immediate; That if in a Dominion meerly managed by their own Gentry, they should punish them as much in their means, as in their persons, it would in conclusion prove a punishment, not of particulars, but of the general: For it is a rule here, that the poorest Families are the loosest.

To the DUKE.

My most honoured Lord and Patron,

THese poor lines will be presented unto your Lordship by my Nephew (one of your obliged Servants) and withal some description, as I have prayed him, of my long infirmities, which have cast me behind in many private, and often inter-

terrupted even my publick duties; with which yet I do rather seek to excuse some other defects of service, then my silence towards your Lordship. For to importune your Lordship seldome with my Pen is a choice in me, and not a disease, having resolved to live, at what distance soever from your sight, like one who had well studied before I came hither, how secure they are whom you once vouchsafe any part of your love.

And indeed, I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious lines: for thereby I see that your Lordship had me in your meditation, when I scant remembred my self. In answer of which Letter, after some respite from mine own evils, I have deputed my said Nephew to re-deliver my fortune into your Noble hands, and to assure your Lordship, that as it should be chearfully spent at your command, if it were present and actual, (from whose meditation I have derived it) so much more am I bound to yield up unto your Lordship an absolute disposition of my hopes: But if it shall please you therein to grant me any part of mine own humour, then I would rather wish some other satisfaction then exchange of office; yet even in this point likewise I shall depend on your will, which your Lordship may indeed challenge from me, not only by an humble gratitude, and reverence due to your most worthy Person; but even by that natural charity and discretion which I owe my self: for what do I more therein, then only remit to your own arbitrement the valuation of your own goodness? I have likewise committed to my foresaid Nephew some Memorials touching your Lordships familiar service (as I may term it) in matter of art and delight. But though I have laid these offices

offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own Pen to give your Lordſhip an account of a Gentleman, worthier of your love, then I was of the honour to receive him from you. We are now, after his well-ſpent travels in the Towns of purer Language, married again till a ſecond divorce; for which I ſhall be ſorry, whenſoever it ſhall happen. For in truth (my good Lord) his converſation is both delightful and fruitful; and I dare pronounce, that he will return to his Friends as well fraught with the beſt Obſervations, as any that hath ever ſifted this Country; which indeed doth need ſifting, for there is both Flower and Bran in it. He hath divided his abode between *Siena* and *Rome*: the reſt of his time was for the moſt part ſpent in motion. I think his purpoſe be to take the *French* Tongue in his way homewards, but I am perſwading with him to make *Bruxels* his ſeat, both becauſe the *French* and *Spaniſh* Languages are familiar there; vvhereof the one vvill be after *Italian* a ſport unto him, ſo as he may make the other a labour: And for that the ſaid Town is now the Scene of an important Treaty, which I fear will laſt till he come thither; but far be from me all ominous conceit. I will end with chearful thoughts and wiſhes; beſeeching the Almighty God to preſerve your Lordſhip in health, and to cure the Publick diſeaſes. And ſo I ever remain

Venice,
July 29.
1622.

Your Lordſhips moſt devoted and obliged Servant,

H. WOTTON.

To

To the DUKE.

My most honoured and dear Lord,

TO give your Lordship occasion to exercise your noble Nature, is withal one of the best exercises of mine own duty; and therefore, I am confident to pass a very charitable motion through your Lordships hands and mediation to his Majesty.

There hath long lain in the Prison of Inquisition, a constant worthy Gentleman, *viz.* Master *Mole*: in whom his Majesty hath not only a right as his Subject, but likewise a particular interest in the Cause of his first imprisonment: For having communicated his Majesties immortal work, touching the Allegiance due unto Soveraign Princes, with a *Florentine* of his familiar acquaintance, this man took such impression at some passages, as troubling his Conscience, he took occasion at the next shrift, to confer certain doubts with his Confessor; who out of malicious curiosity, enquiring all circumstances, gave afterwards notice thereof to *Rome*, whither the said *Mole* was gone with my Lord *Ross*; who in this story is not without blame: but I will not disquiet his Grave,

Now having lately heard that his Majesty, at the suit of I know not what Ambassadors, (but the *Florentine* amongst them is voiced for one) was pleased to yield some releasment to certain restrained Persons of the *Roman* Faith; I have taken a conceit upon it, that in exchange of his Clemency therein, the great Duke would be easily moved, by the Kings gracious request, to interceed with the Pope for Master *Mole's* delivery: To which purpose,

purpoſe, if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to grant his Royal Letters, I will ſee the buſineſs duely purſued. And ſo needing no arguments to commend this propoſition to his Majeſties goodneſs, but his goodneſs it ſelf, I leave it (as I began) in your Noble hand. Now touching your Lordſhips familiar ſervice, (as I may term it) I have ſent the Complement of your bargain, upon the beſt provided, and beſt manned Ship that hath been here in long time, called the *Phœnix*. And indeed the cauſe of their long ſtay, hath been for ſome ſuch Veſſel as I might truſt. About which, ſince I wrote laſt to your Lordſhip, I reſolved to fall back to my firſt choice: ſo as now the one Piece is the work of *Titian*, wherein the leaſt Figure (*viz.* the Child in the Virgins lap playing with a Bird) is alone worth the price of your expence for all four, being ſo round, that I know not whether I ſhall call it a Piece of *Sculpture*, or *Picture*: and ſo lively, that a man would be tempted to doubt, whether Nature or Art had made it. The other is of *Palma*, and this I call the *ſpeaking Piece*, as your Lordſhip will ſay it may well be termed; for except the Damſel brought to *David*, whom a ſilent modeſty did beſt become, all the other Figures are in diſcourſe and action. They come both diſtended in their Frames: for I durſt not hazard them in Rowls, the youngeſt being 25 years old, and therefore no longer ſupple and pliant. With them I have been bold to ſend a Diſh of Grapes to your Noble Siſter, the Counteſs of *Denbigh*, preſenting them firſt to your Lordſhips view, that you may be pleaſed to paſs your cenſure, whether *Italians* can make Fruits as well as *Flemings*, which is the common glory of their Penſils. By this Gentleman, I have ſent the

choiceſt

choicest *Melon* seeds of all kinds; which his Majesty doth expect, as I had Order both from my Lord of *Holderness*, and from Mr. *Secretary Calvert*. And although in my Letter to his Majesty (which I hope by your Lordships favour, himself shall have the honour to deliver, together with the said Seeds) I have done him right in his due Attributes; yet let me say of him farther, as *Architects* use to speak of a well chosen foundation, that your Lordship may boldly build what Fortune you please upon him, for surely, he will bear it vertuously. I have committed to him for the last place, a private Memorial touching my self, wherein I shall humbly beg your Lordships intercession upon a necessary Motive. And so with my heartiest prayers to Heaven for your continual health and happiness, I most humbly rest,

Venice, *Dec.* $\frac{2}{12}$. 1622.

Your Lordships ever obliged, devoted Servant,

H. W.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Noble Lord, It is one of my duties to tell your Lordship, that I have sent a servant of mine (by Profession a Painter) to make a search in the best Towns through *Italy*, for some principal Pieces, which I hope may produce somewhat for your Lordships contentment and service.

To

To the Earl of *Holderneſs*, 1623.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,

IN a late Letter from your Lordſhip by my Servant, I have, beſides your own Favours, the Honour of Imployment from the King, in a piece of his Delight: which doth ſo conſort with the opportunity of my Charge here, that it hath given me acquaintance with ſome excellent *Floriſts*, (as they are ſtyled;) and likewiſe with mine own diſpoſition, who have ever thought the greateſt pleaſure to conſiſt in the ſimpleſt Ornaments and Elegancies of Nature; as nothing could fall upon me more happily. Therefore your Lordſhip ſhall ſee how I will endeavour to ſatisfie this Command. I had before Order by Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, to ſend his Majeſty ſome of the beſt *Melon*-ſeeds of all kinds; which I have done ſome Weeks ſince, by other occaſion of an expreſs Meſſenger; and ſent withall a very particular Inſtruction in the Culture of that Plant. By the preſent Bearer I do direct unto your Lordſhip, through the hands either of my Nephew, or Mr. *Nicholas Pey* (as either of them ſhall be readieſt at *London*) for ſome beginning in this kind of Service, the Stem of a double Yellow Roſe, of no ordinary nature; For it flowereth every moneth (unleſs change of the Clime do change the property) from *May*, till almoſt *Chriſtmas*. There hath gone ſuch care in the manner of the Conveyance, as, if at the receiving, it be preſently put into the earth, I hope it will proſper.

sper. By the next commodity I shall send his Majesty some of the rarest Seeds.

Now for mine own Obligations unto your Lordship, (whereof I have from some Friends at home very abundant knowledge) What shall I say? It was in truth (my Lord) an argument of your noble Nature, to take my fortune into your Care, who never yet made it any great part of mine own business. I am a poor Student in *Philosophy*, which hath redeemed me not only from the envying of others, but even from much solicitude about my self. It is true, that my most Gracious Master hath put me into civil practice, and now after long Service, I grow into a little danger of wishing I were worth somewhat: But in this likewise I do quiet my thoughts: For I see by your Lordships so free, and so undeserved estimation of me, that like the Criple, who had lain long in the Pool of *Bethesda*, I shall find some body that will throw me into the water when it moveth. I will end with my humble and hearty thanks for your Favour, and Love.

To the PRINCE.

May it please Your Highness,

BEside that which I have now represented unto your Highness, by my Letter to your worthy Secretary, I must humbly crave leave herein to be delivered of a boldness wherewith my Pen is in travel. I have

I have obſerved in your Highneſs, among other noble Endowments of your Mind, a quick and delightfull apprehenſion of the fundamental Cauſes of all Secrets, both natural and artificial, that have been brought to your View; which ſurely is the higheſt pleaſure of a diſcourſive Soul. Now of this part of your Highneſs's delectation, I am ſerious to take hold. For having been a long Lover of *Philoſophy*, and from the contemplative part, being ſlid into the practical; I ſhall hope for pardon, if I take ſo much freedome from the ingenuity of mine own Nature, and Studies, as to entertain your Highneſs now and then, with ſome Experiments, eſpecially ſuch as do not end in wonder, but reach to publick Uſe: For meer Speculations have ever ſeemed to my conceit, as if Reaſon were given us like an half Moon in a Coat of Arms, only for a Logical Difference from inferiour Creatures, and not for any active power in it ſelf. To begin therefore, by your Gracious Leave, this kind of Intelligence with your Highneſs; I have charged this Gentleman with the humble Preſentation of a Secret unto you, not long ſince imparted to this State, and rewarded with a Penſion to the Inventer, and to his Poſterity; the ſcope being indeed of ſingular uſe, and at the firſt hearing of as much admiration: namely, a way how to ſave Gunpowder from all miſchance of Fire in their Magazines, to which they have been very obnoxious by a kind of fatality. The thing it ſelf in a ſmall Bulk, with the deſcription thereof, according to mine own Trial and Obſervations, will be conſigned to your Highneſs apart from this Letter.

And ſo having laid a beginning to theſe poor

Philoſophical Services, with hope of incouragement therein by Your favourable acceptation, I will conclude with my humbleſt prayers to the Soveraign Lord of all Nature, and Fountain of all Knowledge, to continue his ſweet and dear Bleſſings upon Your Highneſs. To whom I remain, &c.

To the DUKE.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

HAving ſome dayes by ſickneſs been deprived of the comfort of your ſight, vvho did me ſo much honour at my laſt acceſs, I am bold to make theſe poor lines happier then my ſelf: and withal, to repreſent unto your Grace (whoſe noble Patronage is my refuge, when I find any occaſion to bewail mine own fortune) a thing which ſeemed ſtrange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majeſty hath already diſpoſed the *Venetian* Ambaſſage to Sir *Iſaac Weake*; from whoſe ſufficiency if I ſhould detract, it would be but an argument of my own weakneſs.

But that vvhich herein doth touch me, I am loth to ſay in point of Reputation, ſurely much in my livelihood (as Lawyers ſpeak) is, that thereby, after ſeventeen years of forraign and continual employment; either ordinary, or extraordinary, I am left utterly deſtitute of all poſſibility to ſubſiſt at home; much like thoſe Seal-fiſhes, which ſometimes (as they ſay) overſleeping themſelves in an Ebbing-water, feel nothing about them but a dry ſhore

shore when they awake. Which comparison I am fain to seek among those creatures, not knowing among men, that have so long served so gracious a Master, any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate bareness. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your love, so make me worthy in this, of some part of your compassion. So I humbly rest,

Your Graces, &c.

H. WOTTON.

1626.

My dear Nic. Pey,

THis is the account of me since you saw me last.

My going to *Oxford* was not meerly for shift of air, otherwise I should approve your counsel to prefer *Boughton* before any other part whatsoever; that air best agreeing with me, and being a kind of resolving me into my own beginnings: for there was I born.

But I have a little ambitious vanity stirring in me, to Print a thing of my Composition there: which would else in *London* run through too much noise before hand, by reason of the Licences that must be gotten, and an eternal trick in those *City-Stationers*, to rumour what they have under Press.

From *Oxford* I vvas rapt by my Nephevv, Sir *Edmund Bacon*, to *Redgrave*, and by himſelf, and by my ſweet Niece detained ever ſince: (ſo I ſay,) for believe me, there is in their converſations, and in the freedom of their entertainment, a kind of delightful violence.

In our vvay hither vve blanched *Pauls Perry*, though vvithin three miles of it, vvhich vve are not tender to confeſs, (being indeed our manifeſt excuſe;) for thereby it appears, the pains of the vvay did not keep us thence.

In truth, vve thought it (coming immediately from an infected place) an hazardous incivility to put our ſelves upon them; for if any ſiniſter accident had fallen out about the ſame time (for Coincidents are not always Cauſes) vve ſhould have rued it for ever.

Here, vvhen I had been almoſt a fortnight in the midſt of much contentment, I received knowledge of Sir *Albertus Morton*'s departure out of this World, vvho vvas dearer unto me then mine own being in it. What a vvound it is to my heart, you vvill eaſily believe: But His undiſputable Will muſt be done, and unrepiningly received by His own Creatures, vvho is the Lord of all Nature, and of all Fortune, vvhen he taketh novv one, and then another, till the expected day vvherein it ſhall pleaſe him to diſſolve the vvhole, and to vvrap up even the Heaven it ſelf as a Scrol of Parchment.

This is the laſt Philoſophy that we muſt ſtudy upon the Earth: let us now, that yet remain, while our Glaſſes ſhall run by the dropping away of Friends re-inforce our Love to one another; which of all Vertues both ſpiritual and moral, hath the higheſt priviledge, becauſe Death it ſelf ſhall not

not end it. And good *Nis.* exercise that love towards me, in letting me know, *&c.*

Your ever poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

To the KING, 1627.

May it please Your Majesty,

THe Gracious Aspect which I have ever observed in Your Majesty towards me, doth bind me (though there were no other reason) next under God, to approve all my actions to Your Judgement: Let me therefore most humbly make known unto Your Majesty, that it hath pleased the Fountain of all good thoughts to dispose my mind, by his secret Providence, to enter into the sacred Orders of his Church: having confirmed in me (for which his high Name be ever blessed) the reverence and love of his truth, by a large experience of the abuses thereof, in the very seat and sink of all corruption, *Rome* it self: to which my wandring curiosity carried me no less then four times in my younger years; where I fixed my Studies most upon the historical part, in the politick management of Religion, which I found plainly converted from a Rule of Conscience, to an Instrument of State; and from the Mistress of

all Sciences, into a very hand-maid of Ambition. Neither do I repent me of bending my observation that way. For though the Truth perhaps may more compendiously appear in *ordine doctrinæ*; yet never more fully, then when we search the original veins thereof, the increase, the depravations, and decayes, *in ordine temporum.*

This is the Point wherein I have travelled most, and wherein I will spend the remainder of my days; hoping that the All-sufficient God, will in the strength of his mercy enable my weakness, either by my Voice or Pen, to celebrate his Glory. Now, though I was thus far confident in my self, (with all humility be it spoken) that neither my life, nor my poor erudition, would yield much scandal to others; and likewise might well have presumed, that this resolution could no wayes offend Your Majesties religious heart; but might rather be secure in Your favour and encouragement; yet having been imployed so many years abroad in civil use, I thought it undutifull to change my calling, without the fore-knowledge and approbation of my Dear Soveraign. This is the humble Message of these few lines unto Your Majesty.

The Almighty, who hath indued Your Majesty with excellent Vertues, and so early taught You the rare Consort between Greatness and Goodness, long protect Your Royal Person and Estates under his singular Love.

Your Majesties most faithfull
and devoted Vassal,

H. Wotton.

To

To my Dear *Dynely*.

S. P. ὡς ἥδιστα.

Panca meo Gallo, ſed quæ legat ipſa Licoris.

IT were an injury to uſe a Cipher by a Friend ſo warmly and ſo juſtly commended hither by you: nay almoſt, to write a Letter; but that I am tender to trouble him and lade him with our privacies.

Of Himſelf firſt let me ſay thus much, that I think ſurely he is the fitteſt ſtranger that could have been choſen to overcome, among our Academicks, the envy of a ſtranger. For he hath a fair carriage, and very diſcreet temper, and by the prompt uſe of our Language is almoſt naturalized already: And I caſt no doubt of the inward furniture, *per quel guſto ſaporito*, that we have taken in a ſhort converſation with him: wherein, you that procured us the benefit of his company, muſt anſwer for the poorneſs of his entertainment.

Now, for my ſelf, I have not yet entred into the firſt Order of the Church, by a ſtrange accident: upon which there lyes likewiſe ſome civil note. The Biſhop of *Lincolne* (ſometimes Lord Keeper) is the Prelate from whom I reſolved to take it: not for any perſonal reſpect; but becauſe he is our Dioceſan, and Viſiter at this Colledge, and to whom I acknowledge a kind of homage for the place I hold, which fell into his diſpoſing formally by Lapſe. This Biſhop (you muſt know) on this very day ſeven-night came to *London* about ten

ten of the Clock in the morning, to perform an Election of the Scholars at *Westminster* (whereof he is Dean) usual at this time of the year, as with us. In the evening of that day, Sir *John Cooke*, Secretary, visits him, with Command from His Majesty to be presently gone. What Questions thereupon passed between them upon such a surprise, I omit. *Basta.* He went away the next morning at eight of the Clock; and so I am put upon another means, which before my next unto you, will be done: For I abound in choice, but I am a little curious; and I will tell you hereafter the Reasons of my curiosity. You will note (as I touched before) upon this; That the Dukes power is great even in his absence, and that he hath in Court very vigilant Instruments both Spiritual and Temporal. I want time to explain my self; but it shall follow.

Of the present Voyage let me venture to say a little. I am afraid we shall unite all *France*, if it be thither; yet the provisions are fair, and the Duke resolved, and he is departed, with the Souldier, and from the Coast, as beloved a man, and with as many acclamations there, as imprecations within the Land: Such a floating thing is the Vulgar. Of this more at leasure.

From the Colledge,
this 10th. of *July*,
1627.

Tuus

H. Wotton.

To

To the KING.

My Moſt Dear and Dread Soveraign,

AS I gave Your Majeſty fore-knowledge of my intention to enter into the Church, and had Your Gracious Approvement therein, ſo I hold it a ſecond duty to Your Majeſty, and ſatisfaction to my ſelf, to inform you likewiſe by mine own hand, both how far I have proceeded, and upon what Motives; that it may appear unto your Majeſty (as I hope it will) an act of conſcience, and of reaſon; and not of greedineſs and ambition. Your Majeſty will be therefore pleaſed to know, that I have lately taken the degree of Deacon; and ſo far am I from aiming at any high flight, out of my former Sphear, that there I intend to reſt. Perhaps I want not ſome perſwaders, that meaſuring me by their affections, or by Your Majeſties goodneſs, and not by mine own defects or ends, would make me think, that yet before I die, I might become a great Prelate. And I need no perſwaſion to tell me, that if I would undertake the Paſtoral Function, I could peradventure by caſualty, out of the Patronages belonging to Your Royal Colledge, without further troubling of Your Majeſty, caſt ſome good Benefice upon my ſelf, whereof we have one, if it were vacant, that is worth more then my Provoſtſhip. But as they were ſtrucken with horrour, who beheld the Majeſty of the Lord deſcending upon the Mount *Sinai*: ſo, God knows, the nearer I ap-

approach to contemplate his greatness, the more I tremble to assume any cure of souls even in the lowest degree, that were bought at so high a price: *premant torcular qui vindemiarunt*: Let them press the Grapes, and fill the Vessels, and taste the Wine, that have gathered the Vintage. But shall I sit and do nothing in the Porch of Gods House, whereinto I am entred? God himself forbid, who was the Supream Mover. What Service then do I propound to the Church? or what contentment to mine own mind? First, for the point of Conscience, I can now hold my place Canonically, which I held before but dispensatively, and withall I can exercise an Archidiaconal Authority annexed thereunto, though of small extent, and no benefit, yet sometimes of pious and necessary use. I comfort my self also with this Christian hope, That Gentlemen and Knights Sons, who are trained up with us in a Seminary of Church-men, (which was the will of the holy Founder) will by my example, (without vanity be it spoken) not be ashamed, after the light of Courtly Weeds, to put on a Surplice. Lastly, I consider, that this resolution which I have taken, is not unsutable even to my civil imployments abroad, of which for the most part Religion was the Subject; nor to my observations, which have been spent that way in discovery of the *Roman* Arts and Practices, whereof I hope to yield the World some account, though rather by my Pen, then by my Voice. For though I must humbly confess, that both my Conceptions and Expressions be weak, yet I do more trust my deliberation then my memory: or if Your Majesty will give me leave to paint my self in higher terms, I think, I shall be bolder against the judgements, then

then againſt the faces of men. This I conceive to be a piece of mine own Character; ſo as my private Study muſt be my Theater rather then a Pulpit; and my Books my Auditors, as they are all my Treaſure. Howſoever, if I can produce nothing elſe for the uſe of Church and State, yet it ſhall be comfort enough to the little remnant of my life, to compoſe ſome Hymnes unto his endleſs glory, who hath called me, (for which his Name be ever bleſſed) though late to his Service, yet early to the knowledge of his truth, and ſenſe of his mercy. To which ever commending Your Majeſty, and Your Royal Actions, with moſt hearty and humble prayers, I reſt,

Your Majeſties

moſt devoted

poor Servant.

To the KING, 1627.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Gracious Majeſty,

HAving been informed that certain perſons have, by the good wiſhes of the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, been directed hither with a moſt humble Petition unto Your Majeſty, that You will be pleaſed to make Mr. *William Bedel* (now

(now Resident upon a small Benefice in *Suffolk*) Governour of Your Colledge at *Dublin*, for the good of that Society; And my self being required to render unto Your Majesty some testimony of the said *William Bedel*, (who was long my Chaplain at *Venice* in the time of my first Imployment) I am bound in all Conscience and Truth, (as far as Your Majesty will Vouchsafe to accept my poor judgement) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter Man for that Charge could have been propounded unto Your Majesty in Your whole Kingdome, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of Your Church, and zeal to advance the Cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the Excommunication of the *Venetians*. For it may please Your Majesty to know, that this is the Man whom *Padre Paulo* took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom hee did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both Scholastical and Positive, then from any that he had ever practised in his dayes; of which all the passages were well known unto the King Your Father of most blessed Memory. And so, with Your Majesties good Favour, I will end this needless office: For the general fame both of his Learning, and Life, and Christian Temper, and those religious Labours which Himself hath dedicated unto Your Majesty do better describe him,

Your Majesties
most humble
and faithfull Vassal,

H. Wotton.

To

To the DUKE.

My moſt noble Lord,

WHen like that impotent man in the Goſpel, I had lain long by the Pools ſide, while many were healed, and none would throw me in; it pleaſed your Lordſhip firſt of all to pity my infirmities, and to put me into ſome hope of ſubſiſting hereafter. Therefore I moſt humbly and juſtly acknowledge all my ability, and reputation from your favour. You have given me incouragement, you have valued my poor endeavours with the King, you have redeemed me from ridiculouſneſs, who had ſerved ſo long without any mark of favour. By which Arguments, being already and ever bound to be yours, till either life or honeſty ſhall leave me, I am the bolder to beſeech your Lordſhip to perfect your own work, and to draw his Majeſty to ſome ſetling of thoſe things that depend between Sir *Julius Cæſar* and me, in that reaſonable form which I humbly preſent unto your Lordſhip by this my Nephew, likewiſe your obliged Servant, being my ſelf, by a late indiſpoſition, confined to my Chamber, but in all eſtates ſuch as I am,

Your Lordſhips,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

SIR,

I Send you by this Bearer (to keep you in mirth) a piping Shepherd, done by Cavalier *Bassan*, and so well, as may merit some place in your Chamber, which I hear is the Center of good Musick; to which, out of my pieces at home, I have commanded *James* to add a *Messara* playing upon a Timbril, done by *Allessandro Padovano*, a rising *Titian* as we esteemed him.

Good Sir, let us know some true passages of the plight of the Court. I have laid about for some constant intelligence from forraign parts, being strangely relapsed into that humour in my old age. Shall I tell you why? In good faith, for no other use that I mean to make of news, but only that when God shall call me to a better, I may know in what state I leave this World.

Your affectionate Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

To Mr. *Nicolas Arnauld.*

SIR,

THis young Gentleman, my very near Kinsman, having gotten enough of *Venetian Italian* to seek better; and being for that end directed by me to *Siena*, I will take the boldness to commend him to your disposing there, assuring my

my ſelf, that you have gained much friendſhip and power whereſoever you are, by that impreſſion which you have left in us here. And ſo, with thoſe thanks which were long ſince due, for your kind remembrance of me by a Letter from *Florence*, I commit you to Gods dear bleſſings and love, and I ever reſt,

Your very affectionate

From *Venice*.

poor Friend to ſerve you,

H. WOTTON.

To the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*.

My moſt honoured good Lord,

I Moſt humbly preſent (though by ſome infirmities a little too late) a ſtrange *New years Gift* unto your Lordſhip, which I will preſume to term the cheapeſt of all that you have received, and yet of the richeſt materials. In ſhort, it is only an Image of your Self, drawn by memory from ſuch diſcourſe as I have taken up here and there of your Lordſhip, among the moſt intelligent and unmalignant men; which to pourtrait before you I thought no ſervile office, but ingenuous and real: and I could wiſh that it had come at the Day, that ſo your Lordſhip might have begun the *New Year*, ſomewhat like *Plato*'s definition of *Felicity*, with the contemplation of your own *Idea*.

They say, That in your forraign *Employments* under King *James*, your Lordship won the Opinion of a very able and searching Judgement, having been the first discoverer of the Intentions against the *Palatinate*, which were then in brewing, and masked with much Art. And that Sir *Edward Conway* got the start of you both in Title and Employment at home, because the late Duke of *Buckingham* wanted then for his own Ends a Martial Secretary. They say, That under our present Soveraign, you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of undubitable integrity and provident moderation; which *Attributes* I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your Actions since, that though great *Exhaustions* cannot be cured with sudden Remedies, no more in a Kingdom then in a Natural Body, yet your Lordship hath well allayd those blustering clamors wherewith at your beginnings your House was in a manner dayly besieged. They note, that there have been many *changes*, but that none hath brought to the *Place* a judgement so cultivated and illuminated with various *Erudition* as your Lordship, since the Lord *Burghley* under Queen *Elizabeth*, whom they make your Parallel in the ornament of Knowledge.

They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of *Vertues* and *Abilities*, rarely sociable. In the *Character* of your *Aspect*, a *mixture* of *Authority* and *Modesty*. In the Faculties of your *Mind*, quick *Apprehension* and *Solidity* together. In the style of your *Port* and *Train*, as much *Dignity*, and as great *Dependency* as was ever in any of your *Place*, and with little noise or outward fume. That your *Table* is very abundant, free and noble, without

out Luxury. That you are by nature no *Flatterer*, and yet of greateſt power in *Court*. That you love *Magnificence* and *Frugality* both together. That you entertain your *Gueſts* and *Viſiters* with noble courteſie, but void of complement. Laſtly, that you maintain a due regard to your *Perſon* and *Place*, and yet are an *Enemy* to frothy *Formalities*.

Now, in the diſcharge of your *Function*, they ſpeak of two things that have done you much honour: namely, That you have had always a ſpecial care to the ſupply of the *Navy:* And likewiſe a more worthy and tender reſpect towards the *Kings* only *Siſter*, for her continual ſupport from hence, then ſhe hath found before. They obſerve your greatneſs as firmly eſtabliſhed as ever was any in the Love (and which is more) in the eſtimation of a *King*, who hath ſo ſignalized his own Conſtancy: Beſides your addition of *Strength* (or at leaſt of *Luſtre*) by the Nobleſt *Alliances* of the Land.

Among theſe Notes, it is no wonder if ſome obſerve, That between a good willingneſs in your affections to ſatisfie All, and an impoſſibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the Perſons, there doth now and then, I know not how, ariſe a little impatience, which muſt needs fall upon your Lordſhip, unleſs you had been cut out of a Rock of *Diamonds*, eſpecially having been before ſo converſant with liberal Studies, and with the freedom of your own Mind.

Now after this ſhort *Collection* touching your moſt honoured Perſon, I beſeech you give me leave to add likewiſe a little what Men ſay of the *Writer*. They ſay, I want not your gracious good will towards me according to the degree of my poor Talent and Travels, but that I am wanting to my

ſelf: And in good faith (my Lord) in ſaying ſo, they ſay truly; for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature, to a kind of unfortunate baſhfulneſs in mine own buſineſs, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace. Therefore it muſt be your Lordſhips proper work, and not only your Noble, but even your Charitable goodneſs that muſt in ſome bleſſed hour remember me. God give your Lordſhip many healthful and joyful years, and the bleſſing of that Text; *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum.* And ſo I remain with an humble and willing Heart, *&c.*

To the Queen of *Bohemia*, *July*, 1636.

Moſt reſplendent Queen, *even in the darkneſs of Fortune.*

THat was wont to be my ſtyle unto Your *Majeſty*, which You ſee I have not forgotten. For though I have a great while forborn to trouble You with any of my poor lines; yet the memory of Your ſweet and Royal Vertues, is the laſt thing that will die in me. In theſe months of my ſilence, I have been buſie (if any work of my brains may be termed a buſineſs) about certain compoſitions of mine own, partly impoſed, and partly voluntary: whereof ſome would fain be ſtrugling into the light; but I do check their forwardneſs, becauſe I am afraid they will be born before their time: in the mean while, I have gotten a ſubject worthy to exerciſe my pen unto Your Majeſty,

Majeſty, which is the *choice* of the New Lord Treaſurer; upon which place Your Majeſty hath alwayes *Mar.* 6. 1635. ſome dependance in Your Domeſtick Affairs. I believe Your Majeſty hath never perſonally ſeen him, therefore I will take the boldneſs to paint him before You; though I muſt ſpeak, as yet, more out of the univerſal opinion, then from my own experience: for Your Majeſty knows my nature, I am always one of the laſt intruders. Now the beſt and the ſhorteſt draught that I can make of him, will be this; There is in him no tumour, no ſowreneſs, no diſtraction of thoughts, but a quiet mind, a patient care, free acceſs, mild and moderate Anſwers.

To this I muſt add a ſolid judgement, a ſober plainneſs, and a moſt indubitable character of Fidelity in his very face: ſo as there needs not much ſtudy to think him both a good man, and a wiſe man. And accordingly is his Family compoſed; more order then noiſe, and his neareſt Inſtruments carefully choſen, for he wanted no offers: But above all, there is a bleſſed note upon him, that his Majeſty hath committed his Moneys, where he may truſt his Conſcience. Upon the whole matter, it is no marvel that the Charge lay a full year under Commiſſion.

For the King himſelf (as we hear) did openly profeſs, that he had ſpent the moſt of that time, not in deliberating whom he might chooſe, but in wooing of him whom he had choſen, to undertake it: For it is a hard matter indeed (if ſo good a King had not been the Orator) to draw a man out of the ſettled repoſe of a learned Life, into ſuch an ocean of publick Solicitude, able to ſwallow an ordinary

Spirit. But God, who hath raiſed him to it, hath made him fit for it.

This is all that I was in travel to advertiſe Your Majeſty upon the preſent occaſion; my next will be touching the two ſweet Princes, Your Sons, whoſe Fame I have only hitherto enjoyed in the common Voice; having by ſome weakneſs in my Legs, and other ſymptomes of Age, and by mine own retired Studies, been confined to privacy: But I hope to make known unto Them, how much I reverence my Royal Miſtreſs, their Mother, and the Images of her Goodneſs, at the ſolemn Meeting the next Moneth in *Oxford:* For an Academy will be the beſt Court for my humour. And ſo I humbly reſt,

Your Majeſties ever faithfull,

ever devoted poor Servant,

H. W.

To the Lord Treaſurer *Juxon.*

May it pleaſe Your good Lordſhip,

I Was in hope long ſince to have waited on your Lordſhip with an account, I dare not ſay of any fruit, yet at leaſt of ſome uſe of my private time: But through certain faſtidious fumes from my Spleen (though of late I thank God well allay-

allayed) I have been kept in ſuch Jealouſie of mine own conceptions, that ſome things under my Pen have been born very ſlowly. In the mean while, remembring an old Pamphlet of mine, of the *Elements* of *Architecture*, which I cannot in any modeſty ſuppoſe that your Lordſhip had ever ſeen, though it hath found ſome vulgar favour among thoſe whom they call gentle Readers, I have gotten ſuch a Copy as did remain to preſent unto your Lordſhip: And becauſe my fortunes were never able to erect any thing anſwerable to my Speculations in that Art, I have newly made, at leaſt an eſſay of my Invention, at leaſt in the Structure of a little poor Standiſh, of ſo contemptible value, as I dare offer it to your Lordſhip without offence of your integrity. If I could have built ſome Rural Retreat worthy of your Reception, according to the ſix Precepts of my Maſter *Vitruvius*, I would have invited and entertained your Lordſhip therein, how homely ſoever, yet as heartily as you were ever welcomed to any place in this world; and I would then have gloried to have under my Roof as worthy a Counſellor and Treaſurer as ever ſerved the beſt of Kings: But as I am, I can ſay no more for your Lordſhips gracious reſpects and goodneſs towards me, then that I live in a tormenting deſire, ſome way to celebrate the honour of your Name, and to be known

Your moſt humble, profeſſed,

and obliged Servant,

H. WOTTON.

To the KING, 1637.

May it please my most Gracious Soveraign,

IF I were not more afraid to break the Laws of that humble Modesty, which becometh the meanness of my desert, then I am to exceed the bounds of Your Majesties Royal Goodness: I should be a poor Suppliant unto Your Majesty to confer upon me the Mastership of the *Savoy*, in case Dr. *Belcanquel* (my good Friend) shall (as the voice goeth) be removed to the Deanry of *Durham*; wherein the Remove and the Substitution are but one stroke of Your Benignity.

God knows, and the value of the Thing it self may speak as much, that I do not aim therein at any utility: Only, it may be some ease of expence, and Commodity of Lodging, when I shall come (as I am afraid shortly) to oversee certain poor things of mine own at Press: wherewith yet I hope Your Majesty, whose Honour only I study, will not be displeased. I have further considered with my self, that the said place is not incompatible with that which I now hold by Your Majesties intercession with Your ever blessed Father, as it may please You to remember, though You forget nothing so easily as Your own bounties: which place here never before subsisting in the Memory of man, without some Addition, I have now near fourteen years sustained in that integrity as I found it, and with as good Scholars sent annually to Your Royal Colledge at *Cambridge*, of my particu-

lar Choice, as have gone thither ſince the Founda-tion; whereof I could ſhew Your Majeſty a pub-liſhed Teſtimony out of that Univerſity, in Dr. *Winterton*'s Dedication of *Dionyſius de ſitu orbis*, un-to me; if it were not a miſerable thing for me to make up ſo ſlight a merit even with a vanity. Be-ſides this, I moſt humbly confeſs, that though my fortunes are poor, and my Studies private, yet I cannot deny certain Sparkles of honeſt ambition, remaining in me, whereby I deſire the World ſhould know, that my moſt Vertuous, and moſt Dear and Royal Maſter hath not utterly forgotten me. And ſo I moſt humbly reſt,

Your Majeſties moſt humble,

faithfull, hearty Subject

and Servant,

H. W.

To the Archbiſhop.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

EMboldened by your favour, I humbly pre-ſent herewith to your Grace, and through your onely hands (which in our lower Sphear, is *via Lactea*) my Letter to his Majeſty, and the Copy thereof. If it ſhall paſs the file of your

your Judgement, my poor Lines will have honour enough; but if they take effect by the vertue of your Mediation, I shall be sorry that I cannot be more

Your Grace's then I am,

and will ever be,

H. W.

To Mr. *MILTON.*

SIR,

IT was a special favour, when you lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer then to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly; and in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterward by Mr. *H.* I would have been bold, in our vulgar Phrase, to mend my draught, (for you left me with an extream thirst,) and to have begged your conversation again joyntly with your said Learned Friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good Authors of the ancient time: Among which, I observed you to have been familiar.

Since your going, you have charged me with new Obligations, both for a very kind Letter from you, dated the 6th. of this Moneth, and for a dainty piece of entertainment that came therewith.

Where-

Wherein I should much commend the Tragical part, if the Lyrical did not ravish me with a certain *Dorique* delicacy in your Songs and Odes; whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language *Ipsa mollities*. But I must not omit to tell you, that I now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true Artificer. For the Work it self I had viewed some good while before with singular delight, having received it from our common Friend Mr. *R.* in the very close of the late *R*'s *Poems*, Printed at *Oxford*; whereunto is added (as I now suppose) that the Accessory might help out the Principal, according to the Art of *Stationers*, and to leave the Reader *Con la bocca dolce*.

Now Sir, concerning your Travels, wherein I may challenge a little more priviledge of discourse with you. I suppose you will not blanch *Paris* in your way; therefore I have been bold to trouble you with a few Lines to Mr. *M. B.* whom you shall easily find attending the young Lord *S.* as his Governour, and you may surely receive from him good directions for the shaping of your farther journey into *Italy*, where he did reside by my choice some time for the King, after mine own recess from *Venice*.

I should think that your best Line will be thorow the whole length of *France* to *Marseilles*, and thence by Sea to *Genoa*, whence the passage into *Tuscany* is as diurnal as a *Gravesend-Barge*. I hasten, as you do to *Florence*, or *Siena*, the rather, to tell you a short story from the interest you have given me in your safety.

At *Siena* I was tabled in the house of one *Alberto Scipioni*, an old Roman Courtier in dangerous times,

times, having been Steward to the *Duca di Pagliano*, who with all his Family were strangled, save this only man that escaped by fore-sight of the Tempest: with him I had often much chat of those affairs; into which he took pleasure to look back from his native harbour, and at my departure toward *Rome* (which had been the Center of his Experience) I had won confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry my self securely there, without offence of others, or of mine own conscience. *Signor Arrigo mio* (says he) *I Pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto:* That is, *Your thoughts close, and your countenance loose*, will go safely over the whole World. Of which *Delphian Oracle* (for so I have found it) your judgement doth need no Commentary; and therefore, Sir, I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, Gods dear love, remaining

Your Friend as much at command, as any of longer date,

H. WOTTON.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I have expressly sent this my Foot-boy to prevent your departure, without some acknowledgement from me of the receit of your obliging Letter, having my self through some business, I know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad, and diligent to entertain you with Home-Novelties; even for some fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the Cradle.

Right

Right Honourable,

MAster *Nicholas Pey* (through whose hands all my businesses did pass both in my former employments here and now) hath betray'd your Honour unto me in some things that you would desire out of this Country, which if he had not done, he had betray'd me: For I have long wished nothing more then some occasion to serve you; and though this be a kind of intrusion, to insert my self in this manner into your desires; yet I hope it will please you to excuse it, because I do it not only with willingness, but in truth with pleasure: for it falleth out, that I have a little skill, or at least an interest of Affection in the things that you wish from hence, and therefore even mine own nature doth lead me to serve you, besides my duty. I have begun with a very poor Present of Strings for your Musick, whereof I will provide hereafter better store, and if it be possible, of better quality: by the first Ship your Honour shall receive some Lutes of *Scanvels* and *Mango*, and withal a Chest of Glasses of mine own chusing at *Murano*, wherein I do somewhat pretend; and those Artificers are well acquainted with me. Thus much in private: For the Publick, I have made by this Bearer a Dispatch unto the whole Body of His Majesties most Honourable Councel, wherein your worthy Person is comprehended; and therefore, I hope, that writing twice to your Honour now at once, it may serve (by your favour) for some redemption of my former silence. The subject of my Dispatch is as high as ever befel any forraign Minister; wherein, though mine own Conscience

(I

(I thank God) doth ſet me at reſt, yet I ſhall be glad of your Honourable approbation, if it will pleaſe you to afford it me: And ſo I humbly commit your Honour to Gods bleſſed love, remaining,

At your commandment.

Much honoured Sir,

SInce I had the favour and the delight of any Letters from you, you have had the trouble of two or three from me, beſides the preſent, vvhich I hope vvill find you according to my continual vviſhes, in perfect health, though you live in a *Theater* of Tragical Actions this year. I am here newly delivered of one of the moſt faſtidious pieces of my life, as I account, for my part, the Week of our Annual Election of Scholers, both into this Seminary, and out of it for *Kings College* in *Cambridge*; vvhereunto hath been a marvellous Concourſe, and much diſtraction in our Votes through Letters from Court. Pardon me, Sir, a Queſtion by the vvay, Have you no Child of your own, or at leaſt of ſome of your Friends, vvhom you could vviſh trained in this courſe? I vvould fain beg ſome employment from you, vvhich makes me offer you this, or any other of thoſe poor ſervices vvhich lie vvithin my circumference, as this Bearer hath particular charge from me. This is that *Nicholas Oudart*, for vvhom you did a great favour in procuring the Cardinal *Infanta's* Letters to *Mecheln* in his behalf: which took ſo good effect, as he is now perſonally flown over to conſummate that buſineſs, having information from his Cor-

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respondents there, that it is ripened for him. He hath served me from a little Page, and of late years hath managed the chief part of my Domestick Affairs; so as if it were not for his own urgent occasion, I could hardly miss him that short time within which I expect his return. You will find him, I hope, worthy of your love, I am sure of your trust. His profession is *Physick*, towards which he is very well grounded in the learned Languages: But his Scope now is Business, not Knowledge. If there shall by chance remain any thing to be added unto your former honourable Courtesie, for the expedition of his Cause and Return, you have given us both good cause to be confident both in your power and friendship: And so, Sir, leaving him in your loving arms, I rest for ever,

Your obliged and faithful
Friend to serve you,

H. WOTTON.

To the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
July 30. 1637.

May it please your Grace,

WE very humbly acknowledge, that your Grace hath made us confident in your favour, both by your former Letters, (which are the true images of your mind) and by that report which Mr. *Weaver*, and Mr. *Harison*, brought us from your most Reverenced Person: yet,

yet, till after the Term, vvhen vve might ſuppoſe your Grace ſomewhat freer then before (though ever environed vvith more Honour then Eaſe) vve vvere tender to trouble you vvith any proſecution, on our parts, of your good Intents towards this Collegiat Body, about the yet unperfected, though well imprimed Buſineſs of *New-Winſor*. But now, after due Remembrance of our humble Devotions, I am bold to ſignifie unto your Grace in mine own, and in the name of the reſt, that having (according to the fair Liberty which you were pleaſed to yield us) conſulted with our Councel at Law, about ſome convenient form for the ſetling of that which his Majeſty hath already granted by your Grace's Interceſſion, we find the King can no way be bound but by his own goodneſs, neither can we wiſh his Majeſty in better or in ſafer Bonds: therefore we hope to propound an Expedient, which to my underſtanding, will (as *Aſtronomers* uſe to ſay) ſave all appearances, Namely, &c.

Maſter *Cleavers* Election ſhall be the more honoured, by being a ſingle example; in whoſe Perſon we are ſorry for nothing, but that he needs not thank us for his choice. And ſo doubting as little of your Grace's favour, as we do of your Power, in the conſummating of our humble, and as we hope they will appear, of our moderate deſires, I ever with moſt hearty zeal remain

At all your Grace's commands,

From the Colledge this 30. of *July*, 1637.

H. WOTTON.

Right

Right Honourable and our very good Lord, the Lord Keeper,

IT is ſo open and ſo general for any that flie unto your Lordſhips Tribunal, to receive there a fair and equitable meaſure, as it hath (we know not how) wrought in us a kind of unnatural effect: For, thereby we have been made the ſlower to render your Lordſhip our moſt humble thanks in our own proper Caſe, becauſe we knew not how to ſingle it from the common benefit which all find in your goodneſs: But we can now forbear no longer to joyn among our ſelves, and with the univerſal voice, in a bleſſing upon your Name.

And as we bring a true and humble acknowledgment in our particular, that this *Colledge* is bound to celebrate your Honour for that charitable Injunction wherewith you have ſuſtained a great and important portion of the livelihood of ſo many young Plants of good Literature, till a further diſcuſſion of our Right: ſo likewiſe we moſt humbly beſeech your good Lordſhip in the ſincerity of our own deſires of quietneſs, and in the confidence of our cauſe, that you will be pleaſed to entertain with favour a Petition which our Councel will preſent unto your Lordſhip, for ſome Day of hearing that ſhall beſt ſort with your great affairs. And ſo with all our joynt and hearty Prayers, both of Young and Old, for your long preſervation, We reſt,

Your moſt humble and devoted Servants.

My moſt honoured Lady,

YOur young Kinſman ſhall be welcome hither at your pleaſure, and there ſhall want no reſpects on my part to make the place both fruitful and chearful unto him.

Touching the other part of your laſt; wherein I am ſo much obliged by your confidence, which in truth, is the greateſt of Obligations, let me aſſure your Ladyſhip, by all the proteſtations of a Chriſtian man, that I never heard before the leaſt whiſpering of that whereof you write concerning my Niece: Neither, in good faith, did I know ſo much as that there was a Lord *T.* Your Ladyſhip ſees in what darkneſs, or with what incurioſity I live.

I ſhall, ere it be long, be my ſelf in *Kent* among my Friends; but I vvill vvrite more ſpeedily, according to your command.

In the mean vvhile (if I may be pardoned ſo much boldneſs) I could vviſh your Ladyſhip vvould take ſome hold of one vvell known in Court on both ſides, namely Maſter *Nicolas Pey:* He is a right honeſt and diſcreet man in himſelf, and of great truſt vvith my Lady *T.* the Grand-mother, under vvhom my Niece vvas bred, and likewiſe vvith her Father and Mother: and I am not tender that your Ladyſhip ſhould tell him, you have underſtood ſo much from me, if it pleaſe you to ſend for him. And ſo I moſt humbly reſt,

Your Ladyſhips with all devotion to ſerve you,

H. WOTTON.

To

To Sir *Richard Baker* Knight.

SIR,

I Conceive that you have been pleaſed, out of our ancient friendſhip, (vvhich was firſt, and is ever beſt elemented in an *Academy*) and not out of any valuation of my poor judgement, to communicate vvith me your Divine Meditations on the Lords Prayer, in ſome ſeveral ſheets, vvhich have given me a true taſte of the vvhole; vvherein I muſt needs obſerve, and much admire the very Character of your Style, vvhich ſeemeth unto me to have not a little of the *African Idea* of Saint *Auguſtine's* Age, full of ſweet Raptures, and of re-ſearching Conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I knovv not hovv) vvith a certain equal facility: So as I ſee your vvorldly troubles have been but Preſſing-irons to your heavenly cogitations.

Good Sir, let not any modeſty of your Nature, let not any obſcurity of your Fortune ſmother ſuch an excellent employment of your Erudition and Zeal: for it is a vvork of Light, and not of Darkneſs. And thus vviſhing you long health, that can uſe it ſo vvell, I remain

Your poor Friend

to love and ſerve you,

H. WOTTON.

To his Sacred Majesty.

I Do humbly resume the ancient manner, which was *adire Cæsarem per libellum*: with confidence in the Cause, and in Your Majesties Gracious Equity, though not in mine own Merit.

During my late Imployment, Sir *E. P.* then Maker of the Rolls died. By his death Sir *Julius Cæsar* claimed not only the Succession of that place, but the gift of all the Clerkships of the Chancery, that should fall void in his own time.

Of these Clerkships Your Majesty had formerly granted two Reversions: The one to the late Lord *Bruce*; for which Mr. *Bond*, Secretary to my Lord Chancellour, had contracted with him. The second to me. The said *Bond* got his Grant through the favour of his Master, to be confirmed by Sir *Julius Cæsar* before his entrance into the Rolls: but through my absence in Your Majesties Service, and want of pressing it in the due season, my Grant remained unconfirmed, though Your Majesty was pleased to write Your Gracious Letter in my behalf. Which maketh me much bewail mine own case, that my deserts were so poor, as Your Royal Mediation was of less value for me, then my Lord Chancellours for his Servant. The premisses considered, my humble Suit unto Your Majesty is this: That Sir *Julius Cæsar* may be drawn by Your Supream Authority, to confirm unto me my Reversion of the second Clerkship, whereof I have a Patent under Your Great Seal. Wherein I have just

just confidence in Your Majesties Grace, since Your very Laws do restore them that have been any wayes prejudiced *in Servicio Regis*.

Your Majesties

long devoted

poor Servant.

H. WOTTON.

162½.

SIR,

BEsides the Address of my publick Duties unto your hands, I have long owed you these private lines, full of thanks from my heart for your favour and affection in all my occasions at home, and particularly in the Point of my Privy-Seal, about my *German* Accounts: wherein (as I am abundantly informed both by my Nephew, and by Mr. *Nicholas Pey*, whom I repute my best Oracles in the information of mine own Obligations) it pleased you to stand by me, not only *Da vero Amico*, but indeed, *Da vero Cavagliere*: From which, though the benefit which did remain in my purse, after the casting up of what was lost, was (as God knows) so little, that I may justly build some hope of your further charity in the authorizing of such Demands as I now send: yet on the other side, I must confess, that without your for-

mer so friendly, and so noble compassion, I had received a most irrecoverable ruine and shame, beyond all example, and my case would have been very strange; for I should have been undone by the Kings goodness, upon assurance whereof (though almost forgotten) I had increased my Train. Now Sir, this acknowledgement of your singular Love, I was never more fit to pay you then at the present, being intenerated in all my inward feelings and affections by new sickness, which with loss of much blood, even no less then twenty ounces within these fourteen dayes, hath brought me low. In which time (if God had called me from the Travels of this earth) I had left you, out of my narrow fortune, some poor remembrance of my thankfulness: which I have now (finding my self by Gods pleasure in a good way of recovery) transmitted to my above-said Friend Mr. *Pey*. Before I end, I must not forget to ease your Honour of such thanks as in your Letters you have been pleased to bestow on me, in respect of your Kinsman Mr. *B*. because his being with me, I do very rightly reckon among my bands to your self: for in good faith, his integrity and discretion doth sustain my House; besides his fellowship in certain Studies, wherein we aim at no small things, even perchance at a new *Systeme* of the World; at least, since we cannot in the Practical and Moral, I would we could mend it in the Speculative Part. But lest these private Contemplations (on which I am fallen) transport me too far, I will conclude as I began, with humble thanks for all your Favours; and with commending your Honoured Person to the Author of all Blessing; remaining ever, *&c.*

Most

Most dear Lord,

WHile I had your Lordship (as I am alwayes bound) in my Meditation, and somewhat under my Pen, (wherewith I hope in due time to express how much I honour your Noble Vertues) I am (as if I had not been overladen before) surprized with a new Favour (for that is the true Title of your Commands) touching a fine Boy of this Colledge, whom I perceive by your Letters of the 30th. of the last Moneth to pertain to your care. *Quid multa?* It shall be done: Only in one thing I must crave pardon, to pass a little gentle Expostulation with your Lordship. You are pleased in your Letter to except my inconveniences, as if in the Nobleness of your Nature (notwithstanding your desire) you would yet allow me here a liberty of mine own Judgement, or Affection. No, my Good Lord, That priviledge comes too late, even for your self to give me, when I once understand your mind. For let me assure your Lordship, that I have such a conscience, and real feeling of my deep Obligations towards your Noble Person, as no value nor respect under Heaven can purchase my voice from him, on whom you have bestowed it. It is true, that the King himself, and no longer then three or four dayes before the date of your Letters (so nimble are the times) did write for another; but we shall satisfie his Majesty with a pre-election, and yours shall have my first nomination; which, howsoever, will fall timely enough for him within the year. For there belongs (after they are chosen) a little soaking, as well as a

baking before, into our Boys. And so not to insist any longer upon such a poor obedience, I humbly lay my self, and whatsoever is, or shall be within my power, at your Lordships feet, remaining,

Your Lordships in the truest,

and heartiest devotions.

Worthy Sir,

ALL health to your self, and to yours both at home and abroad. Sorry I was not to be at *Eton* when Mr. *B.* your Nephew, and my Friend came thither to visit me, being then in procinct of his travels: But I had some good while before, at another kind visitation, together with your Sons and Mr. *S.* given him a Catholick Rule which was given me long since by an old *Roman* Courtier, with whom I tabled in *Siena*, and whose Counsels I begged for the government of my self at my departure from him towards the foresaid Court, where he had been so well versed. *Sinor Arrigo* (saies he) There is one short remembrance will carry you safe through the whole World. I was glad to hear such a preservative contracted into so little room, and so besought him to honour me with it. Nothing but this (saith he) *Gli Pensiere stretti, & il viso sciolto:* That is, as I use to translate it, *Your Thoughts close, and your Countenance loose.* This was that moral Antidote which I imparted to Mr. *B.* and his fellow-travellers, when they were last with me, having a particular interest in their vvell doings, both as they are yours, and as they have had some training under my poor Regiment: To vvhich tyes of friendship you have added a third, that they are now of the

the Colledge of Travellers, vvherein if the fruit of the time I have spent, vvere answerable to the length, I might run for a Deacon at least.

If I had not been absent vvhen Mr. *B.* came last, I vvould have said much more in private between us; vvhich shall be supplied by Letter, if I may receive a safe form of address from you. I continue mainly in the same opinion vvhich I touched unto them, That after their impriming in *France*, I could vvish them to mount the *Pirenies* into *Spain*. In that Court (as I hear) you have an assured Friend; And there they may consolidate the *French* vivacity vvith a certain *Sosiego* (as they call it) till they shall afterwards pass from *Barcelona* over to *Italy*, vvhere lies the true mean between the other two humours. You see (Sir) by this discourse, that I am in mine own Countrey at leisure; I pray pardon it, vvhatsoever it be, because it proceedeth from hearty good vvill: And so I rest,

At your Commands,

H. W.

Sir, My Servant the Bearer hath somewhat to say unto you about a piece of Painting, vvhich I vvould fain send to your House in the Countrey, covered till it come thither, because it is soberly naked, and ready to be set up, being in a gilded Frame already.

1633.

Right Honourable,

I Received such a Letter from you touching my poor Pamphlet of *Architecture*, vvhich I yet preserve among my preciousest Papers, as I have made it a Resolution to put nothing forth under my Name, vvithout sending one of the first Copies unto your indulgent hands. There

There is born a small welcome to the King from *Scotland* (whom I have not yet seen since his Return) I know not how, out of a little indignation. They have sent us over from *Leiden*, from *France*, from *Polonia*, &c. a tempest of *Panegyricks*, and *Laudatives* of their Princes; whereupon I debated with my self; What? Have we not as good a *Theam* and *Theater* as they? Or do we want Sense, or Zeal to express our Happiness? This stirred my very Bowels, and within a while my Pen, such as it is. I confess the Subject is so high, as I fear may condemn my Obscurity to have undertaken it; but withall so true, as I hope will not mis-become mine ingenuity. Howsoever, I submit it to your judgement: and if in charity you shall be pleased to like any thing in it, I humbly beseech you that you would be pleased to take some occasion of speaking favourably of it to the King himself; for though I aim at nothing by it, save the very doing of it, yet I should be glad to have it impressed by better judgements then my own; And so I most humbly rest,

At, &c.

To Dr. *CASTLE.*

Worthy Sir,

TIll the receipt of your last, and the like from others of both Universities; and one from *Bruxels*, *Ejusdem Argumenti*; I thought,

thought, in good faith, that as I have lived (I thank God) with little Ambition; so I could have died with as much silence as any man in *England*. But now I see that the most unvaluable things may serve to make a noise.

And I have now no more to say, but that while the foresaid report shall be false; the under-writer is

Truly Yours,

H. Wotton.

My dear Nic.

MOre then a voluntary motion doth now carry me towards *Suffolk*, especially that I may confer by the way with an excellent Physician at *B.* whom I brought my self from *Venice*, where (as either I suppose or surmise) I first contracted my infirmity of the Spleen, to which the very Seat is generally inclined, and therefore their Physicians (who commonly study the inclinations of places) are the likeliest to understand the best remedies.

I hope to be back by———

It wrinckles my face to tell you, that my———
———will cost me 500*l.* that done, my thoughts are at rest, and over my Study-door you shall find written, *INVIDIÆ REMEDIUM.* Let me end in that word, and ever rest,

Your heartiest poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

Post-

POSTSCRIPT.

I Forbear to write further, having a world of Discourse to unload unto you; like those that weed not a Garden till it be grown a Wood.

To *Iz. Wa.*

In answer of a Letter requesting him to perform his promise of Writing the Life of Dr. Donne.

My worthy Friend,

I Am not able to yield any reason, no, not so much as may satisfie my self, why a most ingenuous Letter of yours hath lain so long by me (as it were in Lavender) without an Answer, save this only, The pleasure I have taken in your Style and Conceptions, together with a Meditation of the Subject you propound, may seem to have cast me into a gentle slumber. But, being now awaked, I do herein return you most hearty thanks for the kind prosecution of your first motion, touching a just Office, due to the memory of our ever memorable Friend: To whose good fame, though it be needless to add any thing, (and my age considered, almost hopeless from my Pen;) yet I will endeavor to perform my promise, if it were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the Life of so deserving a man, I may perchance over-live mine own.

That which you add of Doctor *King*, (now made Dean of *Rochester*, and by that translated into my native soil) is a great spur unto me: with whom I hope shortly to confer about it in my passage towards *Boughton Malherb*, (which was my genial Air) and invite him to a friendship with that Family where

where his Predeceſſor was familiarly acquainted. I ſhall write to you at large by the next Meſſenger, (being at preſent a little in buſineſs) and then I ſhall ſet down certain general heads, wherein I deſire information by your loving diligence; hoping ſhortly to enjoy your own ever welcome company in this approaching time of the *Fly* and the *Cork*. And ſo I reſt,

Your very hearty poor Friend to ſerve you,
H. WOTTON.

To the ſame.

My worthy Friend,

SInce I laſt ſaw you, I have been confined to my Chamber by a *quotidian* Feaver, I thank God, of more contumacy then malignity. It had once left me, as I thought; but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a ſurcrew of thoſe ſplenetick vapours that are called *Hypocondriacal*; of which moſt ſay, the cure is good company; and I deſire no better Phiſician then your ſelf. I have in one of thoſe fits endeavoured to make it more eaſie by compoſing a ſhort *Hymn*; and ſince I have apparelled my beſt thoughts ſo lightly as in Verſe, I hope I ſhall be pardoned, a ſecond vanity, if I communicate it with ſuch a Friend as your ſelf: to whom I wiſh a chearful ſpirit, and a thankful heart to value it, as one of the greateſt bleſſings of our good God; in whoſe dear love I leave you, remaining,

Your poor Friend to ſerve you.
H. WOTTON.

A Hymn to my God in a Night of my late Sickness.

O *Thou great Power*, in whom I move,
For whom I *live*, to whom I *die*,
Behold me through thy beams of *love*,
Whilst on this *couch* of *tears* I lie;
And cleanse my sordid *soul* within,
By thy *Christs Blood*, the *Bath* of Sin.

No hallowed Oyls, no grains I need,
No rags of Saints, no purging fire,
One rosie drop from *David's* Seed,
Was worlds of Seas to quench thine Ire.
O precious Ransome! which once paid,
That *Consummatum est* was said:

And said by him, that said no more,
But seal'd it with his sacred Breath.
Thou then that hast dispung'd my Score,
And dying wast the death of Death,
Be to me now, on thee I call,
My Life, my Strength, my Joy, my All.

H. WOTTON.

To Doctor *C.*

Worthy Sir,

I Cannot (according to the *Italian* phrase, at which I have been often ready to laugh, among a Nation otherwise of so civil language) accuse

cuſe the receit of any Letter from you, ſince your remove from theſe parts, ſave of two by this Bearer, my Servant and yours, as all mine ſhall be. Neither can I ſatisfie my imagination (ſo far I am from quieting my deſire) where a third (which you intimate in your laſt) may yet lie ſmothered in ſome pocket, for which I ſhould have made a great reſearch, if that were not the diligenteſt way to miſs it. The truth is, as I do highly eſtimate every line from your Pen, ſo on the other ſide, I am as jealous that any of them ſhould ſtray: For when a Friend of mine, that was lately going towards your City, fell caſually into ſome diſcourſe with me, how he ſhould cloath himſelf there; I made ſome ſport to tell him, (for a little beguiling of my Melancholy Fumes) that in my opinion the cheapeſt ſtuff in *London* was Silence. But this concerneth neither of us both, for we know how to ſpeak and write ſafely, that is, honeſtly: Always, if we touch any tender matter, let us remember his *Motto*, that wrote upon the Mantle of his Chimney, where he uſed to keep a good fire, *Optimus Secretarium*.

I owe you abundant thanks for the Advertiſements in your laſt, ſo clearly and judiciouſly delivered; you cannot do me a greater favour: for though I am a Cloyſtered Man in the Condition of my preſent Life, beſides my Confinement by Infirmity, yet having ſpent ſo much of mine Age among Noiſe abroad, and ſeven Years thereof in the Court at home, there doth ſtill hang upon me, I know not how, a certain Concupiſcence of Novelties.

I am ſorry I have nothing in that kind at the preſent to interchange with you.

In

In mine own sickness I had of late, for one half night, and a whole day following, a perfect intermission like a Truce from all Symptoms: but some of them are returned again, and I am afraid it will be hard to throw out altogether this same Saturnine Enemy, being now lodged in me almost a full year.

In your way of applying the Leeches, I have found sensible benefit.

If I could get a lodging near *Paul*'s Church, I would fain pass a week there yet before the great Festival.

Pardon me (Good Sir) this Communication with you of my Domestick purposes; and pardon me likewise the use of another mans hand in this Letter, for a little ease of mine own Head and Eyes. And so I rest,

Your hearty Friend and
Servant in all occasions,

H. WOTTON.

Sir, Your subscription of *Aldrovandus* putteth me in mind of a mishap which befel me in the time of my private Travels; I had been in a long pursuit of a much commended Author, namely *Johannes Britanicus de re Metallica*, and could never see him, but in the Library of the brave *Monks* of *Mont d'Oliveto* in the *Contado di Siena*; where while I had taken order to have him transcribed, *Aldrovando* passing that way, borrowed him from the *Monastery*: and I sending not long after unto him in *Bologna*, my Friend found him newly dead: And this was the period of my fruitless curiosity.

To

To Doctor *C.*

Worthy Sir,

I See by your Letters, by your discourses, and by your whole conversation, that you are a Friend of great Learning, and (which are commonly consociated) of as great humanity; which shall make me study by any means, within the narrowness of my fortune and judgement, to deserve your love.

The rest I leave to this Bearer, my Servant,

As I am Yours,

H. WOTTON.

To Doctor *C.*

Worthy Sir,

HEnceforward no Complemental forms between us. Let others repute them according to the Latine denomination, Fine civil filling of speech and Letters. For my part, in good faith *ex Diametro*, I ever thought they were meer emptinesses: yet they may chance serve between some natures to kindle good will; but I account our Friendship no longer *in fieri*.

You have so represented——unto me, as methinks I see him walking not like a *Funambulus* upon a Cord, but upon the edge of a Razor. What shall I retribute to you from hence? Nothing but a pretty Accident in a sad Subject. There was, you know, inhabitant in—— a young Widow of

value: Who lately dying at *London*, whither she went to solace with some of her Friends, left order by Will that her Body should be buried in her dwelling Parish, as it was this week, where——made the Funeral Sermon, who had been one of her professed Suitors: and so she did not want a passionate Elogist, as well as an excellent Preacher.

For the estate of mine own Body, it is not so well as my Servant seems by your Letter to have laid it before you. It is true, that the *Symptoms* are well allayed, or otherwise peradventure Custom hath taught me to bear them better, being now familiarized and domesticated evils, *Jam mansueta mala:* Yet still the hot fumes continue in the night, and the salivation by day, but in somewhat a lesser measure; besides a streightness of breathing, which I should be glad to know whether you observe in other Hypochendriacal Patients. And if you can advise me of a good *Errynum*, I have a strong fantasie, *ex Fernelio*, that it will discharge my head: but such juyces and expressions as he appointed, are not now to be had. Sir, pardon me this trouble: and God have you in his love,

Your affectionate Friend to serve you unceremoniously,

H. WOTTON.

To Doctor *C.*

Worthy Sir,

I Now return unto you your secret Papers again; whereof, lest I should violate the Communications of such a Friend, I have not so much

much as reserved a Copy (though I might have done it, by your leave) but I have perused them so often, as I think, I can say them without Book. The Scene seemeth since then much changed to the worse; yet I hope all will resolve into nothing: And that when things appear most tempestuous, they will be nearest a calm; according to your great *Aphorism* in Physick, *Nox ante Crisin est molestissima.*

I beseech you, Sir, not to conceive by the tardity of my Answer unto you, any faintness in the acknowledgement of your favours: but to prosecute your friendly intelligence upon occasion, even when I shall be on the other side of you, as perchance I shall be shortly in my genial soil: For I will teach the Foot-Posts of that place to find your Lodging. And so leaving you in Gods dear love, I rest,

Your professed poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

To Doctor *Castle.*

SIR,

LEt me pray you, that the subject of these lines may be only to recommend unto your Counsel and good Affection the Bearer of them, Mr. *John Gainsford*, the nearest Kinsman on my Mothers side that I have living, and yet my nearer Friend, so as I have more then a single interest in his health: He is much travelled with an exorbitant effusion of —— which, though it be a natural preventive to some evils; yet surely, with-

out either ſtop or moderation, muſt needs exhauſt his ſpirits. He hath had heretofore ſome taſte of your acquaintance at large, and you have left in him *illos aculeos*, which you do in all that (after the *Scotiſh* phraſe) get but a gripe of you: for you are indeed a wounding Man, as my Servant *Nicholas* ſaith, to whom I ſhewed your laſt Letter. This my dear Couſin, in one thing eſpecially, is capable of good hope from your advice, that he believes in it by my diſcourſe with him, who truly muſt confeſs that I have received much benefit by yours, touching my ſplenetical Infirmity; which differeth from his no more then the ſtopping or running of the ſame Spout. Beſides this, he is the fitter for you to work upon, becauſe he hath yet tried no remedy, not ſo much as the ordinary diverſion of opening another vein. Sir, I commend him moſt heartily into your hands: and becauſe you have two Capacities, (as our Lawyers ſpeak) a *Political* and *Philoſophical*, from both which I draw much good: Give me leave to entertain you with a Letter of ſome few Novelties from *Oxford*, received as I was thinking to ſhut up the Preſent, which ſhall end in ever profeſſing my ſelf,

Your very hearty poor Friend,
H. WOTTON.

To Doctor *C.*

Worthy Sir,

YOu are the very man, who hath authenticated unto me that ſentence which we read in the life of *Atticus*, delivered by *Corne-*

lius

lius Nepos, That *Prudentia est quædam divinatio.* So as truly hereafter, when I shall receive from the intelligences of your Friends, and your own judgement upon them, any siniſter Prognoſtick, it will make me open your next Letter with trembling fingers.

It is one among many wonders unto me, that the young Lord *C.* hath made a tranſition to the contrary Party: I thought he had been better elemated at *Eton.*

I ſend you herewith, for a little exchange, the Copy of an Elegant Letter, which came unto me by the laſt Boat from a Friend, both of Studies and Affairs touching forreign troubles; which it is not amiſs to contemplate, if it be but for ſome diverſion from our own; Chriſtendom was never, within our Age, ſo inflamed. I hope the ends of the World are come upon us.

I ſhall ſhortly remove into *Kent*; but while I am abſent, there is one ſhall wait on you weekly in *London*, to receive and to convey any of your Commands to me; for that is the true name of all your Requeſts,

To your profeſſed plain Friend,

H. Wotton.

POSTSCRIPT.

MY Lords Grace of *Canterbury* hath this week ſent hither to Mr. *Hales*, very nobly, a Prebendaryſhip of *Windſor* unexpected, undeſired, like one of the favours (as they write) of *Henry* the Seventh's time.

To Doctor *C.*

Worthy Sir,

I Have received your last of the 24th. of *May*, through the hands of Mr. *Joves* of *Windsor*, immediately upon my return to mine ordinary Cell; whence I made a short retirement during the late Solemnities, with intention, in truth, to have visited the City of *Bath*, and to see whether among all kind of affected persons confluent thither, I could pick out any counsel to allay that sputative Symptome which yet remaineth upon me from my obstructions of the Spleen. But that journey is laid asleep.

Now, Sir, in answer to your said Letter; it grieves me to tell you a truth, which this my Servant well knoweth, That I am for the future Election of this year, so ingaged already to four Privy-Councellors (and three of them of the highest) and moreover to a Friend of great interest in all the breath that I have to bestow, that, in good faith, I know not how to struggle for a voice for a Child of rare, and almost prodigious hopes, who is one of my poor Scholers, and much less for any other propounded so late as your Friends Son: For it is now more then a moneth since the day of our Election was proclaimed on our Colledge and Church-gates; the World is nimble in the anticipating of Voices, and for my particular, according to my improvidence in all things else, I am in this likewise no reserver of my good will till the last: I must therefore heartily beseech you, as I have delivered my self at your disposal, so to dispose

diſpoſe of me when I am my ſelf, which I am not now. And ſo I reſt,

Unquiet till I ſhall ſome way ſerve you,

H. WOTTON.

To Doctor *C.*

Worthy Sir,

IT is one of the wonders of the World unto me, how your Letters come ſo ſlowly; which if either themſelves or their Bearers knew how welcome they are, would flie. I ſpeak this both by ſome other before, and by your laſt of the 19. of *December*, which was almoſt nine days on the way: and I hope the Scene of *Scotland* much changed in the mean while to the better.

But to let go exotick matter, if that may be ſo termed, I muſt congratulate with you your actual poſſeſſion of the Place of the—— For although your own Merit was (before you had it) in their judgements that underſtand you, a kind of preſent inveſture; yet I learned long ſince of our old Maſter at *Oxford*, That *Actus* is better then *Potentia:* which yet, I hope, will not divert you from your Philoſophical Profeſſion, wherein I know no man of ſweeter or ſounder ability. And ſo, Sir, I reſt,

Very truly and affectionately

at your Command,

H. WOTTON.

Honourable Sir,

FOr this time, I pray you, accept in good part from me a Bottle made of a Serpentine Stone, which hath the quality to give any Wine or Water that shall be infused therein, for four and twenty hours, the taste and operation of the *Spaw-water*, and is very medicinable for the Cure of the Spleen and the Gravel, as I am informed: But sure I am, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* put a value upon it, he having obtained it amongst the Spoils of the Governour of St. *Omy*, in his last fatal Expedition, and by his Page understood the vertues thereof, and that his Captain highly esteemed it. And surely, some good Cures it hath wrought since it came into my hands, for those two infirmities, *&c.*

Extracted from a Letter of the Earl of Cork, *written to Sir* Henry Wotton, *Decemb.* 22. 1636.

SIR,

FIrst, I must thank you for the fruition of your L. at life here, though it was too short. Next, for your Pictures; whereof I return one by this first Boat, and retain the other longer by your courtesie.

Thirdly, and most of all, for a promise which I receive from you by my Servant, or at least a hope, that you will send me some of your own rural Poesie: That will be a nearer image of your inward self, especially when you were retired into your self. I do therefore expect it greedily by this; for I well remember to have seen some lines that flowed

from

from you vvith much ſtrength and grace. When you have any great piece of news, I pray now and then *Candidus Imperti* to

Your profeſſed Servant,
H. WOTTON.

SIR,

ALthough I am novv a retired and cloyſtered man, yet there do ſtill hang upon me, I know not how, ſome reliques of an harkening humour.

The eaſieſt vvay for you to quench this appetite in your poor Friend, is to empty your ſelf into my Servant, vvhom I ſend to ſalute you, and to knovv two things.

Firſt, vvhether you be of the Parliament your ſelf. Next, vvhether I ſhould be ſorry that I am not of it. You can by this time reſolve me of both. We are here only fed vvith certain Airs of good Hope, *Camelions* food.

More I will not ſay novv, and you ſee by this little, hovv tender I am to uſurp upon your time: Yet before I end, let me ask a third queſtion; Have you no playing and breathing days? If you be of the Houſe, might you not ſtart hither for a night or two? The interpoſing of a little Philoſophical diet, may perchance lighten a mans ſpirits ſurcharged vvith publick thoughts, and prevent a ſurfeit of State. Howſoever, hold me faſt in your love; and Gods mercy be vvhere you are.

Your poor Friend and Servant,
Alla ſuiſcerata,
H. WOTTON.

To

To Dr. *C.* 1638.

Worthy Sir,

I Find in the bowels of your last (which I received yesternight, shall I say by your or by my *Nicholas*) much harsh and stiff matter from *Scotland*, and I believe insusceptible of any farther Concoction, unless it be with much time, *quod concoquit omnia.* But let me lay all publick thoughts aside for the present, having now with you a bosome-business, which may perhaps fall out to concern us more here. Our *Nicholas* (for I account him at least halfed between us) tells me that you have good means to know when —— will be in Town. About whom you may perhaps have heard of certain (as I think for my part) well conceived wishes (though but yet in the Air) touching a vertuous conjunction between him and ——; so dear unto me, both in my affection and judgement, and in all respects, that if our nearness in blood did not make me more tender to violate mine own modesty, then I need to be with such a Friend as you are; I would boldly say, that there are few better Matches in this Kingdome, for the indowments of her Person and Fortune; nor in the whole World, for the sweetness and goodness of her Mind. And on the other side, albeit I have no acquaintance with the Gentleman; yet I hear likewise so much good of him, as makes me wish I had more interest in his familiarity. I write this from whence I wrote my last unto you, being on my wings towards *Canterbury*; whence I shall (ere

(σὺν Θεῷ εἰπεῖν) return hither again within ſix or ſeven dayes. And this Bearer, my domeſtick Friend (a *German* Gentleman of value) will from *London* meet me at *Canterbury*, by whom I ſhall be glad to hear from you, about what time the foreſaid———————is expected of return to the City, and any thing elſe that you ſhall think fit to be told me: But I pray let this privacy which I have paſſed with you, ſleep between us.

As I reſt in your Love,

H. WOTTON.

To Sir *C. C.*

SIR,

LEt me firſt thank you much for that Rural Communication with your own Thoughts, the beſt of all Companions. I was firſt taken with the Virginity (as I may ſay) of the inſcription in our Vulgar. Next, with a natural ſuavity in the Elocution; which, though it be Lyrical, yet it ſhews you can put on the Buskin when you liſt: And when you are tempted again to ſolicite your own ſpirits, I would fain have you venture upon ſome Tragical Subject, though you borrow it out of *Arabia*; For I am glad our *England* cannot yield it. I hear, for matter of Novelty, That Sir *Thomas Roe* (a well-choſen Inſtrument) is to take his leave on *Sunday* next at Court, being deſigned to be one of the great Synod of Proteſtant Am-

Ambaſſadors, that are to meet at *Hamborough*; which to me ſounds like an *Antiphone* to the other malign Conjunction at *Colen*. And ſo (Sir) committing you to Gods dear love, I reſt,

At your Commands,

H. W.

Sir, I retain your *Poem* for a Pawn that I ſhall have the reſt.

And I ſend you a few poor Lines, which my pains did beget: I pray keep them under your own favourable judgement, and impart them tenderly to others; for I fear that even the beſt of our thoughts may be vainly clothed.

SIR,

I Had ſooner given you an account of your two laſt kind Letters, even for mine own ſake, upon whom otherwiſe you ſhould have had juſt cauſe to beſtow no more of your excellent intelligence; But that I have had this my ſervant (and I can aſſure you as much yours) every day upon his wings towards you a pretty while.

To abbreviate Complement, which never agreed with my Nature. In a few plain words, both my ſelf, and all about me are yours.

Sir, I was glad by your laſt, to ſee in the *Scottiſh* Ruptures a Thread of Hope yet left. It is like an Inſtrument wholly out of tune, but yet not all the ſtrings broken or cut; eſpecially if it be true, which is here voiced with us, that my Lord ——

a po-

a popular Orator, is ſent thither to ſmooth the way towards a pacifical Treaty, between certain of the Kings Deputation, and others of the Covenant.

This Bearer will tell you what we hear of certain rumorous Surmiſes at *N.* and the Neighbouring Towns, God (who is himſelf the true Center of Reſt) make us all quiet, and have you in his Love.

By your affectionate, profeſſed poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

POEMS.

A Poem *written by Sir* HENRY WOTTON *in his youth.*

O Faithleſs World, & thy more faithleſs part,
a Womans heart!
The true Shop of variety, where ſits
nothing but fits
And feavers of deſire, and pangs of love,
which toyes remove.
Why, was ſhe born to pleaſe, or I to truſt,
words writ in duſt?
Suffering her Eyes to govern my deſpair,
my pain for air;
And fruit of time rewarded with untruth,
the food of youth.

Untrue

Untrue she was: yet, I believ'd her eyes
(instructed spies)
Till I was taught, that Love was but a School
to breed a fool.
Or sought she more by triumphs of denial,
to make a trial
How far her smiles commanded my weakness?
yield and confess,
Excuse no more thy folly; but for Cure,
blush and endure
As well thy shame, as passions that were vain:
and think, 'tis gain
To know, that Love lodg'd in a Womans breast,
Is but a guest.

H. W.

Sir Henry Wotton, *and Serjeant* Hoskins *riding on the way.*

Ho. NOble, lovely, vertuous Creature,
Purposely so fram'd by Nature
To enthral your servants wits.

Wo. Time must now unite our hearts:
Not for any my deserts,
But because (me thinks) it fits.

Ho. Dearest treasure of my thought,
And yet wert thou to be bought
With my life, thou wert not dear.

Wo. Secret comfort of my mind,
Doubt no longer to be kind,
But be so and so appear.

Ho.

Ho. Give me love for love again,
Let our loves be clear and plain,
Heaven is faireſt, when 'tis cleareſt.
Wo. Leſt in clouds, and in differring,
We reſemble Seamen erring,
Fartheſt off, when we are neareſt.

Ho. Thus with numbers interchanged,
Wotton's Muſe and mine have ranged,
Verſe and Journey both are ſpent.

Wo. And if *Hoskins* chance to ſay,
That we well have ſpent the day,
I, for my part, am content.

H. W.

On his Miſtreſs, the Queen *of* Bohemia.

YOu meaner *Beauties* of the *Night*,
That poorly ſatisfie our *Eyes*
More by your *number*, then your *light*,
You *Common people* of the *Skies*;
What are you when the *Sun* ſhall riſe?

You curious Chanters of the Wood,
That warble forth *Dame Natures* layes,
Thinking your *Voices* underſtood
By your weak *accents*; what's your praiſe
When *Philomel* her voice ſhall raiſe?

You *Violets*, that firſt appear,
By your *pure purple mantles* known,
Like the proud *Virgins* of the *year*,

As if the *Spring* were all your own;
What are you when the *Rose is blown?*

So, when *my Mistriss* shall be *seen*
In *Form* and *Beauty* of her *mind*,
By *Vertue* first, then *Choice* a *Queen*,
Tell me, if *she* were not design'd
Th' *Eclipse* and *Glory* of her kind?

H. W.

To a Noble Friend in his Sickness.

UNtimely Feaver, rude insulting guest,
How didst thou with such unharmonious heat
Dare to distune his well-composed rest;
Whose heart so just and noble stroaks did beat?

What if his Youth and Spirits well may bear
More thick assaults, and stronger siege then this?
We measure not his courage, but our fear:
Not what our selves, but what the Times may miss.

Had not that blood, which thrice his veins did yield,
Been better treasur'd for some glorious day:
At fartheſt West to paint the liquid field,
And with new Worlds his Masters love to pay?

But let those thoughts, sweet Lord, repose a while,
Tend only now thy vigour to regain;
And pardon these poor Rimes, that would beguile
With mine own grief, some portion of thy pain.

H. W.

A short Hymn upon the Birth of Prince Charles.

YOu that on *Stars* do look,
Arreſt not there your ſight,
Though *Natures* faireſt *Book*,
And ſigned vvith propitious light;
Our Bleſſing novv is more Divine,
Then *Planets* that at Noon did ſhine.

To thée alone be praiſe,
From vvhom our *Joy* deſcends,
Thou *Chearer* of our *Days*,
Of Cauſes firſt, and laſt of Ends:
To thee this *May* vve ſing, by vvhom
Our *Roſes* from the *Lilies* bloom.

Upon this Royal Flower,
Sprung from the chaſteſt Bed,
Thy glorious ſweetneſs ſhower,
And firſt let *Myrtles* Crown his Head;
Then *Palms* and *Lawrels* wreath'd between;
But let the *Cypreſs* late be ſeen.

And ſo ſucceeding men,
VVhen they the fulneſs ſee
Of this our *Joy*, ſhall then
In conſort joyn as vvell as vve,
To celebrate his *Praiſe* above,
That ſpreads our Land vvith *fruits* of *Love*.

H. WOTTON.

An *Ode* to the KING,

At his returning from Scotland *to the* Queen, *after his Coronation there.*

ROuſe up thy ſelf, my gentle *Muſe*,
Though now our green conceits be gray,
And yet once more do not refuſe
To take thy *Phrygian Harp*, and play
In honour of this chearful *Day*.

Make firſt a *Song* of *Joy* and *Love*,
Which chaſtely flame in *Royal Eyes*;
Then tune it to the *Spheres* above
When the benigneſt *Stars* do riſe,
And ſweet *Conjunctions* grace the *Skies*.

To this let all good *Hearts* reſound,
While *Diadems* inveſt his *Head*:
Long may he live, whoſe *Life* doth bound
More then his *Laws*, and better Lead
By high Example, then by Dread.

Long may He round about Him ſee
His Roſes and His Lillies bloom:
Long may His only Dear and He
Joy in *Ideas* of their own,
And *Kingdoms Hopes* ſo timely ſown;
Long may they both contend to prove,
That beſt of Crowns is ſuch a Love.

Upon the ſudden Reſtraint of the Earl *of* Somerſet, *then falling from favour.*

DAzled thus with height of place,
Whilſt our Hopes our wits Beguile,
No man marks the narrow ſpace
'Twixt a Priſon and a Smile.

Then ſince Fortunes favours fade,
You that in her arms do ſleep,
Learn to ſwim and not to wade;
For the Hearts of Kings are deep.

But if Greatneſs be ſo blind,
As to truſt in Towers of *Air*,
Let it be with Goodneſs lin'd,
That at leaſt the Fall be fair.

Then though darkned you ſhall ſay,
When Friends fail and Princes frown,
Vertue is the rougheſt way,
But proves at night a *Bed of Down.* H.W.

The Character of a Happy Life.

HOw *happy* is he born and taught,
That ſerveth not anothers *will?*
Whoſe *armour* is his *honeſt thought*,
And ſimple *truth* his utmoſt *skill?*

Whoſe *paſſions* not his *maſters* are,
Whoſe *ſoul* is ſtill prepar'd for *death*;
Unti'd unto the *World* by care
Of *publick fame*, or *private breath.*

See J Plowers Memoirs of Edward Alleyn 53

VVho *envies* none that *chance* doth *raise*,
Nor *vice* hath ever understood;
How deepest wounds are giv'n by *praise*,
Nor rules of *State*, but rules of *good*.

VVho hath his *life* from *rumours freed*,
VVhose *conscience* is his strong *retreat*:
VVhose *state* can neither *flatterers feed*,
Nor *ruine* make *Oppressors* great.

VVho *God* doth late and early pray,
More of his *grace* then *gifts* to lend:
And entertains the harmless day
VVith a *Religious Book*, or Friend.

This man is freed from servile bands,
Of hope to rise, or *fear* to fall:
Lord of himself, though not of *Lands*,
And having *nothing*, yet hath *all*.

H. W.

On a Bank *as I sate a* Fishing:

A description of the Spring.

AND now all *Nature* seem'd in *love*,
The lusty *sap* began to move;
New *juice* did stir th'embracing *Vines*,
And *Birds* had drawn their *Valentines*:
The *jealous Trout*, that low did lie,
Rose at a well-dissembled *flie*:
There stood my Friend, with patient skill
Attending of his trembling *quill*.

Already

Already were the *Eves* poſſeſt
With the ſwift *Pilgrims* daubed neſt.
The *Groves* already did rejoyce
In *Philomels* triumphing *voice*.
The *ſhowers* were ſhort, the *weather* mild,
The *morning* freſh, the *evening* ſmill'd.
Jone takes her neat-rub'd Pale, and now
She trips to milk the Sand-red *Cow*;
Where for ſome ſturdy foot-ball *Swain*,
Jone ſtrokes a *ſillabub* or twain.
The *Fields* and *Gardens* were beſet
With *Tulip*, *Crocus*, *Violet*:
And now, though late, the *modeſt Roſe*
Did more then half a bluſh diſcloſe.
Thus all look'd *gay*, all full of *chear*,
To welcome the New-livery'd *year*.

H. W.

A Tranſlation of the CIV. Pſalm *to the Original Senſe.*

MY *ſoul* exalt the *Lord* with *Hymns* of *praiſe*:
O Lord my *God*, how boundleſs is *thy might*?
Whoſe Throne of *State* is cloath'd with glorious *rays*,
And round about haſt rob'd *thy ſelf* with *light*.
Who like a *curtain* haſt the *Heavens* diſplay'd,
And in the watry Roofs thy Chambers laid.

Whoſe chariots are the thickned *clouds* above,
Who walk'ſt upon the winged *winds* below,
At *whoſe command* the airy Spirits move,
And fiery *meteors* their obedience ſhow.
Who on this Baſe the *earth* didſt firmly found,
And mad'ſt the *deep* to circumveſt it round.

The waves that riſe would drown the higheſt *hill*,
But at thy *check* they flie, and when they hear
Thy thundring voice, they poſt to do *thy will*,
And bound their furies in their proper *ſphere*:
Where ſurging *floods*, and valing *ebbs* can tell,
That none beyond *thy marks* muſt ſink or ſwell.

Who hath diſpos'd, but *thou*, the winding way
Where *ſprings* down from the ſteepy crags do beat,
At which both foſter'd Beaſts their thirſts allay,
And the wild *Aſſes* come to quench their heat;
Where *Birds* reſort, and in their kind, *thy praiſe*
Among the branches chant in warbling *laies*.

The *mounts* are watred from thy dwelling *place*,
The *barns* and *meads* are fill'd for *man* and *beaſt*;
Wine glads the heart, and *oyl* adorns the *face*,
And *bread* the ſtaff whereon our ſtrength doth reſt;
Nor *ſhrubs* alone feel thy ſuffizing hand,
But even the *Cedars* that ſo proudly ſtand.

So have the *Fowls* their ſundry *ſeats* to breed,
The ranging *Stork* in ſtately *Beeches* dwells;
The climing *Goats* on hills ſecurely feed,
The mining *Conies* ſhroud in rocky Cells:
Nor can the heavenly *lights* their courſe forget,
The *Moon* her turns, or *Sun* his times to ſet.

Thou mak'ſt the *Night* to over-vail the *Day*;
Then ſavage Beaſts creep from the ſilent *wood*,
Then Lions whelps lie roaring for their prey,
And at thy powerful hand demand their *food*:
VVho when at *morn* they *all* recouch again,
Then toyling *man* till *eve* purſues his pain.

O Lord, when on thy various works we look,
How richly furniſh'd is the *earth* we tread!
Where, in the fair Contents of *Nature's* Book,
We may the *wonders* of thy *wiſdom* read:
Nor *earth* alone, but *lo*, the *ſea* ſo wide,
Where great & ſmall, a world of *creatures* glide.

There go the *Ships* that furrow out their way;
Yea, thereof *Whales* enormous ſights we ſee,
Which yet have ſcope among the reſt to play,
And *all* do wait for their ſupport on *thee*:
Who haſt aſſign'd each *thing* his proper food,
And in due ſeaſon doſt diſpence *thy good*.

They gather when *thy gifts* thou doſt divide;
Their ſtores abound, if *thou* thy hand enlarge:
Confus'd they are, when *thou* thy beams doſt hide;
In duſt reſolv'd, if *thou* their breath diſcharge.
Again, when *thou* of *life* renew'ſt the ſeeds,
The withered *fields* reveſt their chearful weeds.

Be ever gloried here *thy Soveraign Name*,
That *thou* may'ſt ſmile on *all* which *thou* haſt made;
Whoſe frown alone can ſhake this earthly frame,
And at whoſe *touch* the *hills* in ſmoak ſhall vade.
For *me*, may (while I breathe) both *harp* & *voice*,
In ſweet indictment of *thy Hymns* rejoyce.

Let *Sinners* fail, let all Profaneſs ceaſe;
His Praiſe, (my Soul) *His Praiſe* ſhall be *thy Peace*.

H. WOTTON.

Tears at the Grave of Sir Albertus Morton (*who was buried at* Southampton) *wept by Sir* H. Wotton.

Silence (in truth) would ſpeak my ſorrow beſt,
For, deepeſt wounds can leaſt their feelings tell;
Yet, let me borrow from mine own unreſt,
But time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewel.

O my unhappy lines! you that before
Have ſerv'd my youth to vent ſome vvanton cries,
And now congeal'd vvith grief, can ſcarce implore
Strength to accent! Here my *Albertus* lies.

This is the ſable Stone, this is the Cave,
And vvomb of earth that doth his Corps embrace;
VVhile others ſing his praiſe, let me engrave
Theſe bleeding Numbers to adorn the place.

Here vvill I paint the Characters of vvoe,
Here vvill I pay my tribute to the Dead,
And here my faithful tears in ſhowers ſhall flovv,
To humanize the Flints vvhereon I tread.

VVhere though I mourn my matchleſs loſs alone,
And none between my vveakneſs judge and me;
Yet even theſe gentle vvalls allovv my moan,
VVhoſe doleful Ecchoes to my Plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here,
As if ſome Muſe vvould liſten to my Lay,
VVhen all diſtun'd ſit vvaiting for their Dear,
And bathe the Banks vvhere he vvas vvont to play?

Dwell

Dwell thou in endleſs Light, diſcharged Soul;
Freed now from Natures, and from Fortunes truſt:
VVhile on this fluent Globe my glaſs ſhall role,
And run the reſt of my remaining duſt.

H. W.

Upon the death of Sir Albert. Morton's *Wife.*

HE firſt deceas'd; She for a little tri'd
To live without him: lik'd it not, and di'd.

H. W

This Hymn was made by Sir H. Wotton, *when he was an Ambaſſador at* Venice, *in the time of a great ſickneſs there.*

ETernal *Mover*, vvhoſe diffuſed Glory,
To ſhevv our groveling Reaſon vvhat *thou* art,
Unfolds it ſelf in Clouds of Natures ſtory,
VVhere Man, thy proudeſt Creature, acts his part:
VVhom yet (alas) I knovv not vvhy, vve call
The VVorlds contracted ſum, the little *all*.

For, vvhat are vve but lumps of vvalking clay?
Why ſhould we ſwel? whence ſhould our ſpirits riſe
Are not bruit Beaſts as ſtrong, and Birds as gay,
Trees longer liv'd, and creeping things as vviſe?
Only our ſouls vvas left an inward light,
To feel our vveakneſs, and confeſs thy might.

Thou then, our ſtrength, Father of life and death,
To whom our thanks, our vows, our ſelves we owe,
From me thy tenant of this fading breath,
Accept thoſe lines vvhich from thy goodneſs flovv:
And thou that vvert thy *Regal Prophets Muſe*,
Do not thy Praiſe in vveaker ſtrains refuſe.

Let

Let these poor Notes ascend unto thy throne,
Where *Majesty* doth sit with *Mercy* crown'd,
Where my *Redeemer* lives, in whom alone
The errours of my wandring life are drown'd:
Where all the Quire of heaven resound the same,
That only *Thine*, *Thine* is the *saving Name*.

Well then, my *Soul*, joy in the midst of Pain;
Thy *Christ* that conquer'd *hell*, shall from above
With greater triumph yet return again,
And conquer his own *Justice* with his *Love*;
Commanding *Earth* and *Seas* to render those
Unto his Bliss, for whom he paid his *Woes*.

Now have I done: now are my *thoughts* at peace,
And now my Joyes are stronger then my grief:
I feel those Comforts that shall never cease,
Future in Hope, but present in Belief.
Thy words are true, thy promises are just,
And thou wilt find thy dearly bought in Dust.

H. WOTTON

POEMS

Found among the Papers of Sir *HENRY WOTTON*.

A Description of the Countreys Recreations.

QUivering fears, Heart-tearing cares,
Anxious sighs, Untimely tears, Fly,

Fly, fly to the Courts;
Fly to fond worldlings ſports,
Where ſtrain'd *Sardonick* ſmiles are gloſing ſtill,
And grief is forc'd to laugh againſt her will;
Where mirth's but mummery;
And ſorrows only real be.

Fly from our Countrey paſtimes! fly,
Sad troop of humane miſery;
Come ſerene looks,
Clear as the Chryſtal brooks,
Or the pure azur'd heaven, that ſmiles to ſee
The rich attendance of our poverty.
Peace and a ſecure mind,
(Which all men ſeek) we only find.

Abuſed Mortals! did you know
Where Joy, Hearts-eaſe, and comforts grow;
You'd ſcorn proud towers,
And ſeek them in theſe bowers, (ſhake,
Where winds ſometimes, our woods perhaps may
But bluſtring care could never tempeſt make,
Nor murmurs e're come nigh us.
Saving of fountains that glide by us.

Here's no fantaſtick Mask, nor dance,
But of our Kids, that friſk and prance:
Nor wars are ſeen,
Unleſs upon the green
Two harmleſs Lambs are butting one the other;
Which done, both bleating run, each to his Mother.
And wounds are never found,
Save what the *Plow-ſhare* gives the ground.

Here

Here are no falſe entrapping baits,
To haſten too too haſty fates;
Unleſs it be
The fond Credulity
Of ſilly fiſh, vvhich vvorldling-like, ſtill look
Upon the Bait, but never on the Hook:
Nor envy, unleſs among
The Birds, for prize of their ſweet ſong.

Go! let the diving *Negro* ſeek
For Gems hid in ſome forlorn creek;
VVe all Pearls ſcorn,
Save vvhat the dewy morn
Congeals upon each little ſpire of graſs;
VVhich careleſs Shepherds beat down as they paſs;
And gold ne're here appears,
Save vvhat the yellow Ceres bears.

Bleſt ſilent Groves! ô may ye be
For ever Mirths beſt Nurſery!
May pure contents
For ever pitch their tents (Mountains;
Upon theſe Downs, theſe Meads, theſe Rocks, theſe
And peace ſtill ſlumber by theſe purling Fountains!
VVhich vve may every year
Find vvhen vve come a fiſhing here. *Ignoto.*

Imitatio Horatiana Odes 9. donec gratus eram tibi, *Lib.* 3.

A DIALOGUE betwixt GOD *and the* SOUL.

Soul. WHilſt my *Souls* eye beheld no light (ſight
But vvhat ſtream'd from thy gracious
To

To me the vvorlds greateſt King,
Seem'd but ſome little vulgar thing.

God. VVhilſt thou prov'dſt pure; and that in thee
I could glaſs all my Deity:
How glad did I from Heaven depart,
To find a lodging in thy heart!

S. Now Fame and Greatneſs bear the ſway,
('Tis they that hold my priſons Key:)
For vvhom my ſoul vvould die, might ſhe
Leave them her Immortalitie.

G. I, and ſome few pure Souls conſpire,
And burn both in a mutual fire,
For vvhom I'ld die once more, ere they
Should miſs of Heavens eternal day.

S. But Lord! vvhat if I turn again,
And vvith an adamantine chain,
Lock me to thee? VVhat if I chaſe
The vvorld away to give thee place?

G. Then though theſe ſouls in vvhom I joy
Are *Seraphins*, Thou but a toy,
A fooliſh toy, yet once more I
VVould vvith thee live, and for thee die.

Ignoto.

Doctor B. *of* TEARS.

WHo vvould have thought, there could have
Such joy in tears, vvept for our ſin? (bin
Mine

Mine eyes have ſeen, my heart hath prov'd
The moſt and beſt of earthly joyes:
The ſweets of love, and being lov'd,
Masks, Feaſts, and Playes, and ſuch like toyes.
Yet, this one tear, vvhich now doth fall,
In true delight exceeds them all.

2. Indeed, mine eyes at firſt let in
Thoſe gueſts that did theſe vvoes begin,
Therefore mine eyes in tears, and grief,
Are juſtly drown'd: but, that thoſe tears
Should comfort bring, is paſt belief:
Oh God! in this thy grace appears,
Thou that mak'ſt light from darkneſs ſpring,
Mak'ſt joyes to vveep, and ſorrows ſing.

3. Oh vvhere am I? vvhat may I think?
Help, help, alas my heart doth ſink;
Thus loſt in ſeas of vvoe,
Thus laden vvith my ſin,
Waves of deſpair daſh in,
And threat my overthrow.
What heart oppreſt vvith ſuch a vveight
Can chuſe but break, and periſh quite?

4. Yet, as at Sea in ſtorms, men uſe
The Ship to ſave, the goods to loſe;
So, in this fearfull ſtorm,
This danger to prevent,
Before all hope be ſpent,
I'le chuſe the leſſer harm:
My tears to ſeas I vvill convert,
And drown my eyes to ſave my heart.

5. Oh

5. Oh God my God, vvhat ſhall I give
To thee in thanks ? I am and live
In thee, and thou didſt ſafe preſerve
My health, my fame, my goods, my rent,
Thou mak'ſt me eat vvhile others ſterve :
Such unto me thy Bleſſings are,
As if I vvere thy only care.

6. But, oh my God ! thou art more kind,
When I look inward on my mind :
Thou fill'ſt my heart vvith humble joy,
With patience, meekneſs, fervent love,
(Which doth all other loves deſtroy)
With faith (vvhich nothing can remove)
And hope aſſur'd of heavens bliſs ;
This is my ſtate : thy grace is this.

By Chidick Tychborn (*being young and then in the Tower*) *the night before his Execution.*

1. MY prime of youth, is but a froſt of Cares,
My feaſt of joy, is but a diſh of pain,
My Crop of Corn is but a field of tares,
And all my good is but vain hope of gain :
The day is paſt, and yet I ſaw no Sun,
And now I live, and now my life is done.

2. The Spring is paſt, and yet it hath not ſprung ;
The fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green :
My youth is gone, and yet I am but young :
I ſaw the vvorld, and yet I vvas not ſeen.
My thread is cut, and yet it is not ſpun :
And now I live, and now my life is done.

3. I ſought my death, and found it in my womb,
I look'd for life, and ſaw it was a ſhade:
I trod the earth, and knew it was my tomb,
And now I die, and now I am but made.
The glaſs is full, and now my glaſs is run,
And now I live, and now my life is done.

---

1. RIſe, oh my Soul, with thy deſires to Heaven,
And with Divineſt contemplation, uſe
Thy time, where times eternity is given,
And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts abuſe:
But down in darkneſs let them lie,
So live thy better, let thy worſe thoughts die.

2. And thou, my Soul, inſpir'd with holy flame,
View and review with moſt regardful eye,
That holy Croſs whence thy ſalvation came,
On which thy Saviour, and thy ſin did die:
For in that Sacred object is much pleaſure,
And in that Saviour is my life, my treaſure.

3. To thee (O Jeſu) I direct my eye,
To thee my hands, to thee my humble knees,
To thee my heart ſhall offer ſacrifice,
To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only ſees:
To thee my ſelf, my ſelf and all I give;
To thee I die, to thee I only live. *Ignis.*

Sir Walter Raleigh *the Night before his Death.*

EVen ſuch is *time* that takes on truſt
Our *youth*, our *joyes*, our all we have,
And pays us but with *age* and *duſt*;
Who in the dark and ſilent *Grave*

(When

(When we have wandred all our ways)
Shuts up the ſtory of our days.
But from this *earth*, this *grave*, this *duſt*,
My God ſhall raiſe me up, I truſt. *W. R.*

The World.

THe *World's* a bubble: and the life of man
leſs then a ſpan.
In his conception wretched; from the womb,
ſo to the tomb.
Nurſt from his cradle, and brought up to years,
with cares and fears.
Who then to frail mortality ſhall truſt,
But limns on water, or but writes in duſt.
Yet, whilſt with ſorrow here we live oppreſt,
what life is beſt?
Courts are but only ſuperficial Schools,
to dandle Fools:
The rural part is turn'd into a den
of ſavage men:
And where's a City from foul vice ſo free,
But may be term'd the worſt of all the three?
Domeſtick cares afflicts the Husbands bed,
or pains his head:
Thoſe that live ſingle, take it for a curſe,
or do things worſe: (none,
Theſe would have children, thoſe that have them
or wiſh them gone:
What is it then to have, or have no wife,
But ſingle thraldom, or a double ſtrife?
Our own affections ſtill at home to pleaſe,
is a diſeaſe.
To croſs the Seas to any forreign ſoil;
peril and toil.

Wars with their noiſe affright us, when they ceaſe
w'are worſe in peace.
What then remains, but that we ſtill ſhould cry
For being born, and being born, to die?

Fra. Lord Bacon.

De Morte.

MAns life's a Tragedy: his mothers womb
(From which he enters) is the tyring room;
This ſpacious earth the Theater; and the Stage
That Country which he lives in: Paſſions, Rage,
Folly, and Vice are Actors: The firſt cry
The Prologue to th'enſuing Tragedy.
The former act conſiſteth of dumb ſhows;
The ſecond, he to more perfection grows;
I'th third he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of ſin:
I'th fourth declines; i'th fifth diſeaſes clog
And trouble him; then Death's his Epilogue.

Ignot.

EPIGRAM.

IF breath were made for every man to buy,
The poor man could not live, rich would not die.

John Hoskins *to his little Child* Benjamin *from the Tower.*

SWeet *Benjamin*, ſince thou art young,
And haſt not yet the uſe of tongue,
Make it thy ſlave, while thou art free,
Impriſon it, leſt it do thee.

LET

LETTERS
TO
Sir *EDMUND BACON.*

SIR,

IT is very just, since I cannot personally accompany this Gentleman, yet that I do it with my Letter: wherein if I could transport the Image of mine own mind unto you, as lively as we have often represented you unto our selves abroad, then I should not think us asunder while you read it. But of my longing to see you, I am a better feeler then a describer; as likewise of my obligations towards you, whereof it is not the least, that I have been by your mediation, and judgement, and love, furnished with so excellent a Comforter of my absence, and so loving and discreet a divider and easer of my Travels; after whose separation from me, I am ready to say that which I remember the younger *Pliny* doth utter with much feeling, after the loss of his venerable and dearest Friend *Cerellius Rufus*; *Vereor* (saith he) *ne posthac negligentius vivam.* But herein my case is bettter then his: for I cannot but hope, that some good occasion will bring him again nearer me: And I must confess unto you, I should be glad to see him planted for a while about the King, or Prince,

that ſo if his own fortune be not mended by the Court, yet the Court may be bettered by him in that which it doth more deſperately want. Now, Sir, Beſides himſelf, there cometh unto you with him an *Italian* Doctor of Phyſick, by name *Gaſpero Deſpotini*; a man well practiſed in his own faculty, and very Philoſophical and ſound in his diſcourſe: By birth a *Venetian*; which though it be not *Urbs ignobilis* (as Saint *Paul* ſaid of his own Mother-City) yet is his ſecond birth the more excellent; I mean his illumination in Gods ſaving Truth, which was the only cauſe of his remove; and I was glad to be the conductor of him where his conſcience may be free, though his condition otherwiſe (till he ſhall be known) will be the poorer. This Stranger I was deſirous to preſent unto you as my friend, in his company, whoſe teſtimony may more value him then mine own: And ſo committing them both to your love, and your ſelf with all that family to Gods bleſſing hand, I reſt,

From my Lodging
in *Kings-ſtreet*
April 2. 1611.

Your poor Friend,
and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

IT is late at night, and I am but newly come to the knowledge that my Lord is to ſend a Meſſenger unto you to morrow morning: yet howſoever, I have reſolved not to be left out of this diſpatch, though in truth I had rather be the foot-

man

man my self, then one of the Writers. But here I am tied about mine own buſineſs; which I have told you like a true Courtier: for right Courtiers indeed have no other buſineſs but themſelves. Our Lord *Jeſus* bleſs you all as you are now together, and whereſoever you ſhall be.

From *Greenwich*, *May* 27. 1611.

Your Uncle by your own election, and your Servant by mine,

H. WOTTON.

1612, 13.

SIR,

I Muſt now acknowledge it true which our Navigators tell us, that there be indeed certain variations of the Compaſs: for I think there was never point of a needle better touched then you have touched me, having ever ſince I parted from you, been looking towards you, and yet ſtill by ſomething or another, I am put out of my courſe: I will therefore hereafter not promiſe you any more to come unto you, but I will promiſe my ſelf it; becauſe indeed I have no other means to be at peace with my ſelf: for I muſt lay this heavy note upon your converſation, that I am the unquieter for it a good while after.

This is the firſt part of what I meant to ſay. After which I would fain tell you, That I ſend this Foot man expreſly unto you to redeem ſome part of my fault, for not anſwering your late kind Letter by the Meſſenger that brought it: But the

truth is, I had ſome ſpecial occaſion to ſend to *Berry*: and therefore I will ſet no more upon your account, then his ſteps from thence to *Redgrave*, where perhaps you now are. See what a real Courtier I am, and whether I be likely to proſper. Well, howſoever, let me entertain you a little by this opportunity, with ſome of our diſcourſes. The King departed yeſterday from hence towards you; having as yet, notwithſtanding much voice, and ſome wagering on the other ſide, determined nothing of the vacant places: Whereupon the Court is now divided into two opinions; the one, that all is reſerved for the greater honour of the marriage; the other, that nothing will be done till a Parliament, or (to ſpeak more preciſely) till after a Parliament: which latter conceit, though it be ſpread without either Author or ground, yet as many things elſe of no more validity, it hath gotten faith enough on a ſudden. I will leave this to the judicial Aſtrologers of the Court, and tell you a tale about a ſubject ſomewhat nearer my capacity.

On *Sunday* laſt at night, and no longer, ſome ſixteen Apprentices (of what ſort you ſhall gueſs by the reſt of the Story) having ſecretly learnt a new Play without Book, intituled, *The Hog hath loſt his Pearl*; took up the *White-Fryers* for their Theatre: and having invited thither (as it ſhould ſeem) rather their Miſtreſſes then their Maſters; who were all to enter *per buletini* for a note of diſtinction from ordinary Comedians. Towards the end of the Play, the Sheriffs (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as they ſay) and carried ſome ſix or ſeven of them to perform the laſt Act at *Bridewel*; the reſt are fled. Now it is ſtrange to hear how

how ſharp-witted the City is, for they will needs have Sir *John Swinerton* the Lord *Maior* be meant by the *Hog*, and the late Lord Treaſurer by the *Pearl*. And now let me bid you good night, from my Chamber in *King-ſtreet* this *Tueſday*, at Eleven of the night.

Your faithfulleſt to ſerve you,
H. WOTTON.

Franceſco hath made a proof of that Green which you ſent me; againſt which he taketh this exception, That being tryed upon Glaſs, (which he eſteemeth the beſt of tryals) it is not tranſlucent; arguing (as he ſaith) too much denſity of the matter, and conſequently, leſs quickneſs and ſpirit then in colours of more tenuity.

Cambridge, Sunday at Night.

SIR,

TO divert you from thinking on my faults, I will entertain you with ſome News out of a Letter which I have here received from *Venice*, of much conſequence divers wayes.

The Biſhop of *Bamberge*, a Practical *Almain* Prelate (of which kind there be enough of that Coat, though not in that Countrey) was treating in *Rome* a League againſt the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, with whom His Majeſty (you know) was firſt by Articles, and is now by alliance more nearly confederate: His Commiſſion he had from the Emperour, *Sotto parole tacite* as they call it. Now, while this matter was there moulding, a *Chiaus* arrives at the Emperours Court, with a Letter from the *Turk*;

importing a denuntiation of War, grounded upon a heap of complaints easily found out between Princes that do not intend to agree. And accordingly the *Turk* is departed in Person from *Constantinople* into *Hungary* with great Forces (as my Friend writeth) on a morning *quando nevicava a furia* (by which appeareth the sharpness of the humour) having made a leavy before his going of 5000 youths out of the *Seragli*; a thing never seen before. He hath left behind him *Nasuf Bassa* as President of his affairs, who told the *Baiolo* of *Venice* there resident, that his Master was but gone to hunt: and seemeth to have held the same language with the other Ambassadors: whether out of meer wantonness of conceit, or as esteeming a war with Christians, but a sport in respect of that which he had newly concluded with the *Persian*, I know not: howsoever, this is likely to quash the Bishops business, and I fear it will fall heavy upon *Germany*: which first in it self was never more dis-united; and besides, the Emperour in small good will with those that should help him. It will likewise in my conjecture hasten the departure of the Count *Palatine*, or at least (if it so please him) it may well serve his turn for that purpose.

This is all that I have for your entertainment: To morrow morning I depart hence towards *London*: whence I determine to write by every Carrier to you, till I bring my self.

In your last, you mentioned a certain Courtier that seemeth to have spoken somewhat harshly of me; I have a gues at the man: and though for him to speak of such as I am, in any kind whatsoever, was a favour; yet I wonder how I am fallen out of his estimation, for it is not long since he offered

fered me a fair Match within his own Tribe, and much addition to her Fortune out of his private bounty. When we meet, all the world to nothing we ſhall laugh; and in truth, Sir, this world is worthy of nothing elſe. In the mean time, and ever, our ſweet Saviour keep us in his love.

Your poor faithfull Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

March the laſt, 1613.

SIR,

I Returned from *Cambridge* to *London* ſome two hours after the King. The next day was celebrated with twenty Tilters, wherein there entred four fraternities: the Earls, *Pembroke* and *Montgommery*; my Lord *Walden*, *Thomas* and *Henry Howards*; the two *Riches*, and the two *Alexanders*, as they are called (though falſly, like many things elſe in a Court.) The reſt were *Lenox*, *Arundel*, *Rutland*, *Dorſet*, *Chandowes*, *North*, *Hey*, *Dingwel*, *Clifford*, Sir *Thomas Sommerſet*, and Sir *John Harrington*. The day fell out wet to the diſgrace of many fine Plumes. Some Capariſons ſeen before, adventured to appear again on the Stage with a little diſguiſement, even on the back of one of the moſt curious: So frugal are the times, or ſo indigent. The two *Riches* only made a Speech to the King: the reſt were contented with bare Impreſe: wherof ſome were ſo dark, that their meaning is not yet

yet underſtood; unleſs perchance that were their meaning, not to be underſtood. The two beſt, to my fancy, were thoſe of the two Earls Brothers: The firſt a ſmall exceeding white Pearl, and the word, *Solo candore valeo*. The other a Sun caſting a glance on the ſide of a Pillar, and the Beams reflecting, with this Motto, *Splendente refulget*. In which devices there ſeemed an agreement; the elder Brother, to allude to his own nature, and the younger to his fortune. The day was ſignalized with no extraordinary accident, ſave only between Sir *Thomas Haward*, and Sir *Thomas Sommerſet*, who with a counter-buff had almoſt ſet himſelf out of the Saddle, and made the others Horſe ſink under him; but they both came fairly off without any further diſgrace. Of the merits of the reſt I will ſay nothing, my Pen being very unfit to ſpeak of Launces.

To this ſolemnity, of the publick Ambaſſadors, only the Arch-duke was invited, for the healing of the diſtaſte he had taken for the preference of the *Venetian* at the marriage. But I doubt the Plaiſter be too narrow for the ſore; which he ſeemed not much diſcontented that men ſhould note in his whole countenance that day. Towards the evening a challenge paſſed between *Archie* and a famous Knight, called Sir *Thomas Parſons*; the one a fool by election, and the other by neceſſity: which was accordingly performed ſome two or three dayes after, at Tilt, Tornie, and on foot both compleatly armed, and ſolemnly brought in before their Majeſties, and almoſt as many other meaner eyes as were at the former. Which bred much ſport for the preſent, and afterwards upon cooler conſideration much cenſure and diſcourſe, as the manner is.

The

The departure of the Count *Palatine* and my Lady *Elizabeth* is put off from the *Thurſday* in the *Eaſter-week*, till the *Tueſday* following: which day I think will hold. The Commiſſioners that accompany her, have the titles of Ambaſſadors, to give them precedency before Sir *Ralph Winwood* at the *Hague*; and likewiſe in any encounters with *Almaign* Princes. Sir *Edward Cecil* goeth as Treaſurer, to keep up that Office in the name; though it be otherwiſe perhaps from a General, rather a fall then an aſcent. Before this journey there is a conceit, that the Duke of *Lenox* will be naturalized a Peer of our Parliament, and my Lord of *Rochester* be created Earl of *Devonſhire*. The forraign matter is little increaſed ſince my laſt unto you from *Cambridge*. The *Savoy* Ambaſſador not yet arrived. The *Turks* deſigns hitherto unknown, and marching ſlowly according to the nature of huge Armies: In which ſuſpence the *Venetians* have augmented their guard in the Gulf: enough to confirm unto the world, that States muſt be conſerved, even with ridiculous fears. This is all that the VVeek yieldeth. My Lord and Lady have received thoſe Letters and loving ſalutations which my Foot-man brought. And ſo with mine own hearty prayers to God for you, and for that moſt good Neece, I commit you both to his bleſſing and love.

Your faithfulleſt of unprofitable Friends,

H. WOTTON.

I pray Sir remember me very particularly to my Couſin *Nicholas* your worthy Brother, for whoſe health our good God be thanked.

Sir

Sir *James Cromer* is this week dead of an Apoſteme in his ſtomack, and in him the name; unleſs his Lady (as ſhe ſeemeth to have intention) ſhall revive it with matching one of her four Daughters with a *Cromer* of obſcure fortune, which they ſay is latent in your Shire.

From my Chamber this Thurſday, *St.* George *his Eve*, 1613.

SIR,

THe laſt week, by reaſon of my being in *Kent*, was a week of ſilence; and this I think will appear unto you a week of wonder.

The Court was full of diſcourſe and expectation, that the King being now diſincumbred of the care of his Daughter, would towards this Feaſt of St. *George* fill up either all or ſome at leaſt of thoſe places that had lien vacant ſo long, and had been in this time of their emptineſs a ſubject of notorious oppoſition between our great Viſcount and the Houſe of *Suffolk*. Thus I ſay ran the opinion: When yeſterday about ſix of the Clock at evening, Sir *Thomas Overbury* was from the Council-Chamber conveyed by a Clerk of the Council, and two of the Guard to the Tower; and there by Warrant conſigned to the Lieutenant as cloſe Priſoner: Which both by the ſuddenneſs, like a ſtroke of Thunder, and more by the quality and relation of the perſon, breeding in the Beholders (whereof by chance I was one) very much amazement; and being likely in ſome proportion to breed the like in the

the Hearers, I will adventure for the ſatisfying of your thoughts about it, to ſet down the forerunning and leading Cauſes of this accident, as far, as in ſo ſhort a time I have been able to wade in ſo deep a water. It is conceived that the King hath a good while been much diſtaſted with the ſaid Gentleman, even in his own nature, for too ſtiff a carriage of his fortune; beſides that ſcandalous offence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, which was never but a palliated cure. Upon which conſiderations, His Majeſty reſolving to ſever him from my Lord of *Rocheſter*, and to do it not diſgracefully or violently, but in ſome honourable faſhion; He commanded not long ſince the Arch-Biſhop by way of familiar diſcourſe, to propound unto him the Ambaſſage of *France*, or of the Arch-Dukes Court; whereof the one was ſhortly to be changed, and the other at the preſent vacant: In which propoſition it ſeemeth, though ſhadowed under the Arch-Biſhops good will, that the King was alſo contented ſome little light ſhould be given him of His Majeſties inclination unto it, grounded upon his merit. At this the Fiſh did not bite; whereupon the King took a rounder way, commanding my Lord *Chancellor*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* to propound joyntly the ſame unto him (which the Arch-Biſhop had before moved) as immediately from the King, and to ſweeten it the more, he had (as I hear) an offer made him of aſſurance before his going off the place, of Treaſurer of the Chamber, which he expecteth after the death of the Lord *Stanhop*; whom belike the King would have drawn to ſome reaſonable compoſition. Notwithſtanding all which Motives and impulſives, Sir *Thomas Overbury* refuſed to be ſent abroad, with ſuch

terms,

terms, as vvere by the Council interpreted pregnant of contempt, in a Caſe vvhere the King had opened His vvill; vvhich refuſal of his, I ſhould for my part eſteem an eternal diſgrace to our occupation, if vvithall I did not conſider how hard it is to pull one from the boſome of a Favourite. Thus you ſee the point upon vvhich one hath been committed ſtanding in the ſecond degree of power in the Court, and conceiving (as himſelf told me but two hours before) never better then at that preſent of his own fortunes and ends. Now in this vvhole matter, there is one main and principal doubt, vvhich doth travel all underſtandings; that is, *Whether this were done without the participation of my Lord of* Rocheſter: A point neceſſarily infolding two different conſequences; for if it vvere done vvithout his knowledge, vve muſt expect of himſelf either a decadence or a ruine; if not, vve muſt then expect a reparation by ſome other great publick ſatisfaction, vvhereof the vvorld may take as much notice. Theſe clouds a few dayes vvill clear: In the mean vvhile I dare pronounce of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, that he ſhall return no more to this Stage, unleſs Courts be governed every year by a new Philoſophy, for our old Principles vvill not bear it.

I have ſhewed my Lord and Ladies Siſter your Letter of the 18. of *April*, vvho return unto you their affectionate remembrances, and I many thanks for it. The King hath altered his journey to *Thetford*, and determineth to entertain himſelf till the progreſs nearer *London*. The Queen beginneth her journey upon *Saturday* towards *Bath*. Neither the Marqueſs *di Villa* (vvho cometh from *Savoy*) nor *Don Pedro di Sarmiento* (vvho ſhall reſide

ſide here in the room of the preſent *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador) are yet either arrived, or near our Coaſt, though both on the way: So as I can yet but caſt towards you a longing, and in truth an envious look from this place of ſuch ſervility in the getting, and ſuch uncertainty in the holding of fortunes, where methinks we are all overclouded with that ſleep of *Jacob*, when he ſaw ſome aſcending, and ſome deſcending; but that thoſe were Angels, and theſe are men: For in both, what is it but a Dream? And ſo, Sir, wiſhing this Paper in your hands, to whom I dare communicate the freeſt of my thoughts, I commit you to Gods continual Love and Bleſſings.

Your faithful poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

I pray, Sir, let me in ſome corner of every Letter tell my ſweet Niece that I love her extreamly.

SIR,

I Have newly received your laſt of the 25th. of *April*, and acquainted my Lord with the Poſtſcript thereof, touching your Fathers ſickneſs; of which he had heard ſomewhat before by Sir *R. Drury*, who at the ſame time told him the like of my Lady your Mother. But we hope now, that the one was never true, and that the other (which you confirm) will be light and ſufferable, even at heavy years.

The long expected Embaſſador from *Savoy* arrived

rived yesternight at *Dover*: so as now I begin by the vertue of a greedy desire to anticipate before hand, and to devour already some part of that contentment which I shall shortly more really enjoy in your sight and conversation.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* is still in the Tower, and the King hath since his imprisonment been twice here, and is twice departed, without any alteration in that matter, or in other greater.

My Lord of *Rochester*, partly by some relapse into his late infirmity, and partly (as it is interpreted) through the grief of his mind, is also this second time not gone with the King: some argue upon it, that disassiduity in a Favorite, is a degree of declination; but of this there is no appearance: Only I have set it down, to shew you the hasty Logick of Courtiers.

The Queen is on her journey towards *Bathe*.

My Lady *Elizabeth* and the Count *Palatine*, having lain long in our poor Province of *Kent* languishing for a Wind, (which, she sees, though it be but a vapour, Princes cannot command) at length on *Sunday* last towards evening did put to Sea; some eight days after a Book had been Printed and published in *London*, of her entertainment at *Heidelberg*; so nimble an Age it is. And because I cannot end in a better jest, I will bid you farewell for this week, committing you, and that most beloved Niece, to Gods dearest blessings.

London this *Thursday* the 29th. of *April*, 1613.

Your own in faithfullest love,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

1613.

SIR,

YOur Friend Sir *Robert Killegrew* hath been committed to the *Fleet*, for conferring vvith a cloſe Priſoner in a ſtrange Language: which were (as I hear) the two circumſtances that did aggravate his error.

Of his caſe whoſe love drew him into it, I can yet make no judgement: The humour ſeemeth to be ſharp, and there is wiſdom enough in thoſe that have the handling of the Patient to manage the matter, ſo that at length his baniſhment from the Court may be granted as a point of grace. The nature of his alteration vvas (as you rightly judge it) in the firſt acceſs ſomewhat apoplectical, but yet mingled in my opinion vvith divers properties of a lethargy; vvhereof we ſhall diſcourſe more particularly vvhen vve meet, which I novv long for, beſides other reſpects, that vve may lay aſide theſe Metaphors.

This very morning ſhall be heard at the Star-chamber the Caſe of Sir *Peter Buck*, an Inhabitant at *Rocheſter*, an Officer (as I take it) of the Navy, who hath lain ſome good while in Priſon, for having written to a Friend of his at *Dover* a Letter containing this news, That ſome of the Lords had kneeled down to the King for a toleration in Religion: beſides ſome particular aſperſion in the ſaid Letter of my Lord Privy Seal; whom likewiſe of late a Preacher or two have diſquieted; whereby he hath been moved beſides his own nature, and (as ſome think alſo) beſides his wiſdom, to call theſe things into publick diſcourſe; *quæ ſpreta exoleſcunt*, if ancient grave Sentences do not deceive us.

My Lady of *Shrewsbury*, my Lord *Gray*, and the Lady *Arabella* remain ſtill cloſe Priſoners ſince their laſt reſtraint, vvhich I ſignified unto you in a little ticket. Sir *William Wade* vvas yeſternight put from the Lieutenancy of the Tower.

I ſet down theſe accidents barely, as you ſee, vvithout their cauſes; vvhich in truth is a double fault, vvriting both to a Friend, and to a Philoſopher: but my lodging is ſo near the Star-chamber, that my Pen ſhakes in my hand: I hope therefore the Embaſſador of *Savoy* (vvho hath already had two Audiences) vvill quickly be gone, that I may flie to you, and eaſe my heart. By the next Carrier I ſhall tell you all his buſineſs. In the mean vvhile, and ever, our dear Saviour bleſs you.

Your faithful poor Friend to ſerve you,

1613. H. WOTTON.

This *Friday* morning, *May* 7. in ſuch haſte, that I muſt leave my dear Niece unanſwered, till I can better aſſemble my ſpirits, and call the aid of the Muſes.

SIR,

YOur Kinſman and Friend Sir *Robert Killegrew* vvas in the *Fleet* from *Wedneſday* of the laſt vveek till the *Sunday* following, and no longer; vvhich I reckon but an Ephemeral fit, in reſpect of his infirmity vvho vvas the cauſe of it; vvhich to my judgement doth every day appear more and more hectical. Yeſterday his Father petitioned the King

King (as he came from the Chappel) that his Son might have a Physician, and a Servant allowed him, as being much damaged in his health by close imprisonment: which for my part I believe, for the diseases of Fortune have a kind of transfusion into the body, and strong working spirits wanting their usual objects, revert upon themselves; because the nature of the mind being ever in motion, must either do or suffer.

I take pleasure (speaking to a Philosopher) to reduce (as near as I can) the irregularities of Court to constant principles. Now to return to the matter: The King hath granted the Physician, but denied the Servant: by which you may guess at the issue; for when graces are managed so narrowly by a King, otherwise of so gracious nature, it doth in my opinion very clearly demonstrate the asperity of the offence. Sir *Gervis Elvis* (before one of the Pensioners) is now sworn Lieutenant of the Tower, by the mediation of the House of *Suffolk*, notwithstanding that my Lord of *Rochester* was the commender of Sir *John Keys* to that charge; which the said *Keys* had for a good while (and this maketh the case the more strange) always supplied even by Patent in the absence of Sir *William Wade*. Upon which circumstances (though they seem to bend another way) the Logicians of the Court do make this conclusion; That His Majesty satisfying the *Suffolcians* with petty things, intendeth to repair the Viscount *Rochester* in the main and gross. And therefore all men contemplate Sir *Henry Nevil* for the future Secretary; some saying that it is but deferred till the return of the Queen, that she may be allowed a hand in his Introduction: Which likewise will quiet the

voices on the other ſide; though ſurely that point be little neceſſary: For yet did I never in the Country, and much leſs in the Court, ſee any thing done of this kind, that was not afterwards approved by thoſe that had moſt oppoſed it: ſuch viciſſitudes there are here below, as well as of the reſt, even of judgement and affection. I vvould ſay more, but I am ſuddenly ſurprized by the Secretary of the *Savoy* Embaſſador, vvho I think vvill depart about the end of the *Whitſon-holy-days*, for vvhich I languiſh. With his buſineſſes I can acquaint you nothing till the next vveek, by reaſon of this ſurprizal: And beſides, it hath diſturbed my Muſes ſo, I muſt remain ſtill in debt to my ſweet Niece, for that Poetical Poſtſcript that dropped out of her Pen. I do weekly receive your Letters, which in truth are more comfort then I could hope to purchaſe by mine: ſo as vvhereas before I had determined to continue this my troubling of you but till I ſhould ſee you next, I have now made a reſolution to plant a Staple, and vvhenſoever vve ſhall be ſeparated, to venture my vvhole poor ſtock in traffique vvith you, finding the return ſo gainful unto me. And ſo committing you to Gods deareſt bleſſings, I ever reſt,

May 14. 1613.

Your faithfulleſt poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

SIR,

I Have not yet preſented to my Lord that Box vvhich came vvith your Letter of this vveek; for he removed on *Wedneſday* vvith the King and Houſhold to *Greenwich:* And I ſtill remain here, to ſhevv you, that the Court doth, like a Loadſtone, dravv only thoſe that are *intra orbem virtutis ſuæ:* I mean, vvithin the compaſs and circle of profit.

The *Savoy* Ambaſſador ſeemeth in his ſecond Audience to have diſcharged all his Commiſſion; or otherwiſe he vvanteth authority to proceed further then to a general overture, till the arrival of the Cavalier *Battiſta Gabaleoni*, vvho is hourly expected, and is here to remain as Reſident for the ſaid Duke.

With him likewiſe come certain other Gentlemen of Title, vvho ſhould from the beginning have dignified the Ambaſſadors Train: but the cauſe of this ſtragling, vvas a ſudden attempt, vvhich the Duke immediately after the Ambaſſadors departure (vvho appointed thoſe Gentlemen to follovv him) made upon the Marquiſat of *Monferato*, vvhere he ſurprized three Towns vvith the Petarde: the firſt time (as one writeth from *Venice*) that ever that peſtilent invention had been put in practice beyond the Alps.

The cauſe of this attempt, vvas, for that the Cardinal *Gonzaga* (novv Duke of *Mantua*) had yielded to ſend home the *Dowager* Infanta to the Duke of *Savoy* her Father; but vvould retain her only Child, a Daughter of two years: in vvhoſe right the ſaid Duke of *Savoy* pretendeth colourably enough

to the foreſaid vvhole Marquiſat; and clearly to all the moveables left by the late Duke of *Mantua* her Father, vvho died inteſtat. Into vvhich point of Law, there entered beſides ſome jealouſie of State: being unfit for reſpects that vvould have fallen eaſily into the apprehenſion of duller Princes than the *Italian*, to leave a Child out of the cuſtody of her Mother, in his, that was to gain by the death of it: Yet am I of opinion, vvho have a little contemplated the Duke of *Savoy*'s complexion, that nothing moved him more in this buſineſs, then the threatnings of the *French* Queen, vvho had before commanded *Didiguires* to fall into the ſaid Dukes eſtates by vvay of diverſion, if he ſhould meddle vvith the leaſt Village in the *Monſerrato*: vvhich feminine menacement did no doubt incite him to do it out of the impatience of ſcorn: And vvithal, he built ſilently upon a ground, vvhich could not vvell fail him; That the King of *Spain* vvould never ſuffer the *French* Souldiers to taſte any more of the Grapes and Melons of *Lombardy*, beçauſe *L'apetit vient en mangeant*: vvhich the iſſue of the buſineſſes hath proved true; for the Governor of *Milan*, having raiſed a tumultuary Army of Horſe and Foot, did vvith it only keep things in ſtay from farther progreſs on both ſides, till the agreement vvas made between the Duke of *Mantua* himſelf in Perſon, and the Prince of *Piedmont*, vvithin the Town of *Milan*. The accord is advertiſed the King from *Venice* and *Paris*. The conditions vvill be better known at the arrival of *Gabaleoni*; and then likewiſe vve ſhall ſee the bottom of this errand, vvhich hath been hitherto nothing, but a general propoſition of a match between the ſame Lady that vvas formerly offered, and our Prince novv living:

vvhich

which the Ambassador hath touched so tenderly, as if he went to manage his Masters credit. Upon the whole matter, I cannot conceive (though he seemeth to let fall some phrases of haste) that he will be gone yet this fortnight or three weeks, till when I languish. And so let me end all my Letters, ever resting,

May 21. 1613. *Your faithfullest poor Friend and Servant,*

H. WOTTON.

May the 27.

SIR,

I do as unwillingly put my Pen to tell you, as I am sure you will be to hear, what hath befallen my Nephew *Albertus* this week. He was going on *Friday* last towards evening in a Coach alone, whose driver alighting (I know not upon what occasion) hard by *Charing-Cross*, the Horses (being young) took some affrightment, and running away so furiously, that one of them tore all his belly open upon the corner of a Beer Cart; my Nephew (who in this mean while adventured to leap out) seemeth to have hung on one of the pins of the Boot, from whence strugling to get loose, he brake the waste-band of his Hose behind, and so fell with the greater violence on the ground, hurting only the hindermost part of his head, by what possibility we cannot conceive, unless the motion of the Coach did turn him round in the fall. The force of the concussion took from him

for ſome hour or thereabouts, the uſe of his voice and ſenſe, which are now well reſtored; only, there yet remaineth in his left arm a kind of Paralitical ſtupefaction, and his right eye-lid is all black with ſome knock that he took in the agitation of the Coach; which peradventure may have been the motive to make him leap out. But theſe external evils do not ſo much trouble us, as an inward pungent and pulſatory ach withing the skull, ſomewhat lower then the place of his hurt; which hath continued more or leſs ſince his fall, notwithſtanding twice letting blood, and ſome nights of good reſt, and ſhaving of his head for the better tranſpiration; which we doubt the more, becauſe it cometh *ſine ratione*, his hurt being only in the fleſhy part, and very ſleight, without fracture of the skull, without inflammation, without any Feaver, and all the principal faculties, as memory, diſcourſe, imagination untainted. The King hath in this time much conſolated us both with ſending unto him, and with expreſſing publickly a gracious feeling of his caſe: but we muſt fetch our true comforts from him, who is Lord of the whole; and ſo I leave it.

Since my laſt unto you, I am ſure you hear how Sir *Robert Mansfield* hath been twice or thrice convented before the Lords, and committed to the *Marſhalſie*; partly for having conſulted with Mr. *Whitlock* the Lawyer about the validity of a Commiſſion drawn for a re-ſearch into the Office of the *Admiralty*, whereof himſelf is an Accomptant; and partly for denying to reveal the name of the ſaid Lawyer his Friend, who before had been committed to the *Fleet* for another caſe much of the ſame nature. The point toucheth a limb of the

Kings

Kings Prerogative, and immediate Authority. Sir *Robert Mansfield*'s Answers (by report) had as much of the Philosopher, or of the Hermite, as of the Souldier, or Courtier; professing openly his little care of this World, or of his own Fortunes in it: and divers other phrases of that complexion. Sir *Thomas Overbury* is still where he was, and as he was, without any alteration: The Viscount *Rochester* yet no way sinking in the point of favour; which are two strange consistents.

Sir *R. Drury* runneth at the Ring, corbeteth his Horse before the Kings window, haunteth my Lord of *Rochesters* Chamber, even when himself is not there; and in secret divideth his observances between him and the House of *Suffolk*: And all this (they say) to be Embassador at *Bruxels*. So as *super tua materia*, I see appetites are not all of a kind: Some go to the Tower for the avoiding of that which another doth languish to obtain. I will end with my Paper, and by the next Carrier either tell you precisely when I shall see you, for prevent the telling of it. And so our sweet Saviour bless you and my dear Niece.

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

BY the next Carrier (for yet I must say so again) you shall hear when this Embassador will be gone. The mean while let me entertain you with the incloſed Paper, which the Duke of *Savoy* hath published in his own defence; joyning together the Sword and Reason.

Sir

Sir *Robert Mansfield* is ſtill in reſtraint. Sir *Thomas Overbury* not only out of liberty (as he was) but almoſt now out of Diſcourſe.

We have lately ſtarted at a diſpatch from *Ireland*, importing a variance there, about the choice of a Speaker in the ſummoned Parliament; which came to ſo ſharp a point, that the Deputy was fain to fetch wiſdome from hence. Sure it is, that the humours of that Kingdome are very hovering, and much awaked with an apprehenſion taken that we mean to fetter them with Laws of their own making; which in truth were an ingenious ſtrain of State. My Lord and Lady are ſtollen down into *Kent* for a few dayes to take in ſome freſh air. They go not this next Progreſs, if my Brother can get leave of the King to ſee his Grand-children; where he intends to ſpend ſome fortnight, and the reſt of the time between *Boughton* and *Canterbury*.

A Match treated and managed to a fair probability between my Lord *Cook*'s Heir, and the ſecond Daughter of Sir *Arthur Throckmorton*, is ſuddenly broken; the ſaid Lord *Cook* having underhand entertained diſcourſe about the Daughter of the late Sir *Thomas Bartlet*, who in defect of her Brother, ſhall be Heir of that Name.

I have nothing more to ſay; and therefore God keep you and my ſweet Neice in his continual love.

Your poor Uncle, faithfull Friend, and willing Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Alber-

Albertus (God be thanked) groweth better and better, and in the midst of his own pains, hath remembred those in *Suffolk*, whom we both so much honour.

SIR,

IN my last I told you, that the Ambassador of *Savoy* was to meet the Queen at *Windsor*, which pains she hath spared him by her own coming yesternight to *Greenwich*, where I think she will settle her self a day or two before she admit him. Now, seeing the time of the Commencement at *Cambridge* so near as it is, and being able to determine of this Ambassadors departure within that space, I have resolved to take those Philosophical exercises in my way to you, hoping in the mean time to see *Albertus* admitted by Oath to a Clarkship of the Council, or at least to the next vacancy, for he is now strong enough again to swear.

Sir *Robert Mansfield*, and Mr. *Whitlock* were on Saturday last called to a very honourable hearing in the Queens Presence Chamber at *Whitehall* before the Lords of the Council, with intervention of my Lord *Cook*, the Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, the Lord chief Justice being kept at home with some infirmity. There the Attorny and Sollicitor first undertook Mr. *Whitlock*, and the Recorder (as the Kings Sergeant) Sir *Robert Mansfield*; charging the one as a Counsellor, the other as a questioner in matters of the Kings Prerogative and Soveraignty, upon occasion of a Commission intended for a research into the administration of the Admiralty: against

againſt vvhich the ſaid Sir *Robert Mansfield* (being himſelf ſo principal an Officer therein) had ſought ſome proviſion of advice, and, This vvas the ſumme of the charge; vvhich vvas diverſly amplified. *Whitlock* in his anſwer, ſpake more confuſedly, then vvas expected from a Lawyer, and the Knight more temperately, then vvas expected from a Souldier. There vvas likewiſe ſome difference noted, not only in the manner, but in the ſubſtance between them: For *Whitlock* ended his ſpeech vvith an abſolute confeſſion of his own offence, and vvith a promiſe of imploying himſelf hereafter in defence of the Kings prerogative. Sir *Robert Mansfield* on the other ſide, laboured to diſtinguiſh between the errour of his acts, and the integrity of his zeal and affection towards the King his Maſter: proteſting he ſhould hold it the greateſt glory under Heaven to die at his feet, and that no man living ſhould go before him, if there vvere occaſion to advance his dominions; vvith ſome other ſuch Martial ſtrains, vvhich became him vvell. The concluſion of his ſpeech had ſomewhat of the Courtier, beſeeching the Lords, if the reſtraint he had endured vvere not in their judgements a ſufficient puniſhment of his errour, that then they vvould continue it as long as it ſhould pleaſe them, and add unto it any other affliction of pain or ſhame vvhatſoever; provided that afterwards he might be reſtored again into his Majeſties favour, and their good opinions. To tell you vvhat they all ſeverally ſaid that day, vvere to rob from the liberty of our diſcourſe vvhen vve ſhall meet. In this they generally agreed, both Counſellors and Judges, to repreſent the humiliation of both the Priſoners unto the King in lieu of innocency, and to intercede for his gracious pardon:

Which

Which vvas done; and accordingly the next day they vvere enlarged upon a ſubmiſſion under vvriting. This is the end of that buſineſs, at vvhich vvere preſent as many as the room could contain, and men of the beſt quality; vvhom the King vvas deſirous to ſatisfie, not only about the point in hand, but in ſome other things that vvere occaſionally awaked; vvhich I likewiſe reſerve to our private freedom.

The Kings Officers are returned from my Lady *Elizabeth*; vvhom they left at *Goltzheime* the laſt of *May*, vvhere His Majeſties expence did ceaſe. This place vvas choſen for her conſignment in ſtead of *Bacherach*, ſuſpected of contagion. She vvas at *Andernach* feaſted by the Elector of *Cullen*; at *Confluence*, or *Cobolentz* (as they call it) by the other of *Trier*; and at *Mentz* by the third of thoſe Eccleſiaſtick Potentates, very Royally and kindly, and (vvhich vvas leſs expected) very handſomly. The Count *Maurice*, and his Brother vvith troops of Horſe, and a guard of Foot, accompanied her to *Cullen*, and entred themſelves into that City vvith her: (I need not tell you, that though themſelves vvere vvithin, the Horſe, and moſt of the Foot vvere vvithout the Walls) VVhich is here (by the vviſer ſort of Interpreters) thought as hazardous an act, as either of them both had done in the heat of VVar; and indeed no vvay juſtifiable *in foro ſapientiæ*. And therefore ſuch adventures as theſe muſt appeal *ad forum Providentiæ*; vvhere vve are all covered by his vigilant mercy and love: to vvhich I commit you, and my ſweet Neece in my hearty prayers.

Your faithfull poor Friend, Uncle, and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Sir,

SIR,

I Send you a ſprigg of ſome Flowers, vvhich I have newly received out of *Piedmont*, in Winter and Summer the ſame; and therein an excellent type of a Friend.

I am bold likewiſe to keep my ſelf in the memory of my Neece, till I ſee her, vvith a poor pair of Gloves of the neweſt faſhion:

Inventore Henrico Wottono,

Sculptore Crocio.

The 18. of *June*, 1613.

Friday the 25. *June*, 1613.

SIR,

I Told you in my laſt, that I vvould take the Commencement at *Cambridge* in my vvay towards you, vvhere I ſhall be God vvilling to morrow ſeven-night. This I now repeat, to ſave the telling of it again by the next Carrier, fore-ſeeing that I ſhall then be impatient of ſo much delay as a line of mine own effuſion, vvhich even now doth torture me, vvhile I contemplate ſome of thoſe green Banks (that you mention) vvhere vvhen I have you by me (to expreſs my contentment in the *Italian* phraſe) *Non ſcrivero al Papa fratello.* The Ambaſſador of *Savoy* departed yeſterday, making much haſt homewards, or at leaſt much ſhew of it; vvhere he is likely to come timely enough to the

vvarm-

warming of his hands at that fire vvhich his Maſter hath kindled; vvhoſe nature in truth doth participate much of the flint, as vvell as his ſtate. But is not all this out of my vvay? Sir, Believe it, my ſpirits do boyl, and I can hold my Pen no longer then till I have vviſhed all Gods bleſſings to be vvith you, and vvith that beſt Neece of the World.

Your poor Uncle, and faithfull Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Albertus vvas yeſterday vvith me at the Court. And though there be great diſproportion in the ſpace, yet I dare conclude, that as much ſtrength as did carry him to *Greenwich*, vvill bear him to *Redgrave*.

July 2. 1613.

SIR,

WHereas I vvrote unto you, that I vvould be at *Cambridge* as on Saturday next; I am now caſt off again till the Kings return to *London*, vvhich vvill be about the middle of the vveek following. The delay grows from a deſire of ſeeing *Albertus* his buſineſs ſetled before vve come unto you, vvhere vve mean to forget all the vvorld beſides. Of this vve ſhall bring you the account.

Now, to let matters of State ſleep, I vvill entertain you at the preſent vvith vvhat hath happened this vveek at the Banks ſide. The Kings Players had a new Play, called *All is true*, repreſenting ſome principal pieces of the Raign of *Henry* 8. vvhich

which was ſet forth with many extraordinary circumſtances of Pomp and Majeſty, even to the matting of the Stage; the Knights of the Order, with their Georges and Garter, the Guards with their embroidered Coats, and the like: ſufficient in truth within a while to make greatneſs very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now, King *Henry* making a Maſque at the Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Houſe, and certain Canons being ſhot off at his entry, ſome of the Paper, or other ſtuff wherewith one of them was ſtopped, did light on the Thatch, where being thought at firſt but an idle ſmoak, and their eyes more attentive to the ſhow, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, conſuming within leſs then an hour the whole Houſe to the very grounds.

This was the fatal period of that vertuous Fabrique; wherein yet nothing did periſh, but Wood and Straw, and a few forſaken Cloaks; only one man had his Breeches ſet on fire, that would perhaps have broyled him, if he had not by the benefit of a provident wit put it out with bottle Ale. The reſt when we meet: till when, I proteſt every minute is the ſiege of *Troy*. Gods dear bleſſings till then and ever be with you.

Your poor Uncle and faithfull Servant,

H. WOTTON.

I have this week received your laſt of the 27. of *June*, wherein I ſee my ſteps lovingly calculated, and in truth too much expectation of ſo unworthy a gueſt.

Sir,

Novemb. 5. 1613.

SIR,

NOw I begin: but why not before? That queſtion ſhall be anſwered by the next Carrier, or by a ſpecial Meſſenger the next week, at which time you ſhall have an account of all that hath paſſed, and ſome prognoſtication alſo upon the future: for my Pen is grown bold and eager with reſt, as Dogs that are tied up.

At the preſent all my care is to let you know that I have received your laſt, with the encloſed; which although I well underſtand my ſelf, yet I have not had time ſince the decyphering to acquaint the party with it, which ſhall be done as ſoon as I have ſealed this, and ſent it to the Carriers.

I thought now to have ſaid no more; but leſt it loſe the grace of freſhneſs, I pray let me tell you, that yeſterday morning the Viſcount *Rocheſter* was very ſolemnly in the Banqueting-hall in the ſight of many great ones and ſmall ones, created Earl of *Somerſet*; and in the afternoon, for a farther honouring and ſignalizing of the day, my Lord *Cook* (brought in by the ſaid Earl) was ſworn a Privy Counſellor; to counterpoiſe the difference of the profit between the Common-pleas, and the Kings Bench.

I will turn over the leaf though I die for it, to remember the heartieſt love of my ſoul to that good Niece, to that ſweet Niece; to whom I have much to ſay by the next opportunity. Our dear Saviour keep you both in his continual love.

Your faithful Servant,
H. WOTTON.

Touching the project of our House, believe it Sir, I boyl in it; and am ready to begin again, that I may tell you how busie I have been in the matter; but let this also be put over till the following week, which is likely to fall heavy upon you.

Written on the day of our great Preservation, for which our God be ever glorified.

On *Tuesday* the 16th. of *November*.

SIR,

AN expres Messenger will ease us both of the trouble of a cypher: but I was in pain whether I should send another, or be that Messenger my self, being now as near you as *Royston*, and scant able to obtain pardon of mine own severity for not passing farther; yet this may be said for me, that the present occasion required little noise, and besides, I am newly ingaged into some business, whereof I will give you a particular account, when I shall first have discharged that part which belongeth to your self.

My Lord, my Brother, having been acquainted with the matter inclosed in your last to me, dispatched the very next day Mr. *Pen* down to *Boughton*, for such writings as had passed at your marriage; which having consulted with his Lawyers, he found those things to stand in several natures, according to the annexed Scedule.

For the point of your coming up, he referreth that to your own heart; and I have only charge from him to tell you, that without any such occasion as this, which seemeth to imply your affe-

ctionate

ctionate reſpect of his Daughter, your own Perſon and converſation ſhall be ever moſt welcome and dear unto him.

As for my Lady, through whoſe knowledge, and my ſelf, through whoſe hands you have paſſed this point of confidence, if you could behold us, and compare us with my Lord, you ſhould ſee, though no difference in the reality, yet ſome in the faſhion. For to him you muſt allow the ſober forms of his age and place; but we on the other ſide are mad with gladneſs, at the hope we have now taken by this occaſion of enjoying both you and my Niece this Winter at *London*; and we are contented to profeſs it as profuſely as it is poſſible for a better Pen to ſet it down: Nay, for my part (who in this caſe have ſomewhat ſingle) I flatter my ſelf yet farther, that the Term (whereof not much now remaineth) will accelerate your coming; vvhich if you reſolve, I pray then let me only by this Bearer know it, that I may provide you ſome fit Lodgings at a good diſtance from *White-Hall*, for the preſervation of bleſſed liberty, and avoidance of the comber of kindneſs; vvhich in troth (as vve have privately diſcourſed) is no ſmall one. Novv touching my ſelf.

It may pleaſe you, Sir, to underſtand, That the King, vvhen he vvas laſt at *Hampton*, called me to him, and there acquainted me vvith a general purpoſe that he had to put me again into ſome uſe. Since vvhich time, the *French* Ambaſſador (and very lately) having at an Audience of good length beſought His Majeſty (I knovv not vvhether voluntarily, or ſet on by ſome of our own) to diſincumber himſelf of frequent acceſſes by the choice of ſome confident Servant, to vvhom the ſaid Am-

baſſador might addreſs himſelf in ſuch occurrences as did not require the Kings immediate ear. It pleaſed him to nominate me for that charge, vvith more gracious commendation then it can beſeem me to repeat, though I vvrite to a Friend in vvhoſe breaſt I dare depoſe even my vanities. But leſt you ſhould miſtake, as ſome others have been apt to do here, in the preſent conſtitution of the Court (vvhich is very ombragious) the Kings end in this application of me, I muſt tell you, that it is only for the better preparing of my inſufficiency and vveakneſs for the ſucceeding of Sir *Thomas Edmunds* in *France*; towards which His Majeſty hath thought meet firſt to indue me vvith ſome knowledge of the *French* buſineſſes, vvhich are *in motu*. And I think my going thither vvill be about *Eaſter*.

Thus you ſee (Sir) both my next remove, and the exerciſe of my thoughts till then; vvherewith there is joyned this comfort, beſides the redemption from expence and debt at home (vvhich are the Gulfs that vvould ſwallovv me) that His Majeſty hath promiſed to do ſomething for me before I go.

I ſhould novv, according to the promiſe of my laſt, tell you many things, vvherewith my Pen is ſwoln; but I vvill beg leave to defer them till the next opportunity after my coming to *London*: And they ſhall all give place novv to this one queſtion; Whether there be any thing in this intended journey, that you vvill command? Which having ſaid, I vvill end; ever reſting

Your faithfulleſt poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

June

June 8. 1614.

SIR,

IT is both morally and naturally true, that I have never been in perfect health and chearfulneſs ſince we parted; but I have entertained my mind, when my body would give me leave, with the contemplation of the ſtrangeſt thing that ever I beheld, commonly called in our Language (as I take it) *a Parliament:* which hath produced nothing but inexplicable Riddles, in the place of Laws. For firſt, it is aborted before it was born, and nullified after it had a being; inſomuch as the Count *Palatine* (whoſe Naturalization was the only thing that paſſed in both Houſes) is now again an Alien. And whereas all other Parliaments have had ſome one eminent quality that hath created a denomination; ſome being called in our Records *mad* Parliaments, ſome *mercileſs*, and the like: This I think from two properties almoſt inſociable or ſeldom meeting, may be termed the Parliament of greateſt diligence, and of leaſt reſolution that ever was, or ever will be; For our Committies were as well attended commonly, as full Houſes in former Seſſions, and yet we did nothing, neither in the forenoon nor after; whereof I can yield you no reaſon but this one, that our diverſions were more then our main purpoſes; and ſome of ſo ſenſible nature, as took up all our reaſon, and all our paſſion, in the purſuit of them. Now, Sir, what hath followed ſince the diſſolution of this Civil Body, let me rather tell you, then lead you back into any particularities of that which is paſſed.

It pleaſed His Majeſty the very next morning to call to examination, before the Lords of His

Council, divers Members of the Houſe of Commons, for ſome Speeches better becoming a Senate of *Venice*, where the Treaters are perpetual Princes, then where thoſe that ſpeak ſo irreverently, are ſo ſoon to return (which they ſhould remember) to the natural capacity of Subjects. Of theſe Examinants, four are committed cloſe Priſoners to the Tower: 1. Sir *Walter Chute*: 2. *John Hoskins*: 3. One *Wentworth* a Lawyer: And 4. Mr. *Chriſtopher Nevil*, ſecond Son to my Lord of *Abergaveny*.

The firſt made great ſhift to come thither: For having taken in our Houſe ſome diſgrace in the matter of the Undertakers (of whom he would fain have been thought one) to get the opinion of a bold man, after he had loſt that of a wiſe; he fell one morning into a declamation againſt the times, ſo inſipid, and ſo unſeaſonable, as if he had been put but out of his place for it of *Carver*, (into which one of my Lord *Admirals* Nephews is ſworn) I ſhould not much have pitied him, though he be my Country-man. The ſecond is in for more wit, and for licentiouſneſs baptized freedom: For I have noted in our Houſe, that a falſe or faint Patriot did cover himſelf with the ſhadow of equal moderation; and on the other ſide, irreverent diſcourſe was called honeſt liberty: ſo as upon the whole matter, No exceſſes want precious names. You ſhall have it in *Pliny*'s language, which I like better then mine own tranſlation; *Nullis vitiis deſunt pretioſa nomina*.

The third is a ſilly and ſimple creature, God himſelf knows: and though his Father was by Queen *Elizabeth* at the time of a Parliament likewiſe put into the place where the Son now is; yet hath he rather inherited his fortune, then his under-

derſtanding. His fault was, the application of certain Texts in *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, to the matter of impoſitions; and ſaying, that the *French* King was kill'd like a Calf, with ſuch like poor ſtuff: againſt which the *French* Ambaſſador (having gotten knowledge of it) hath formed a complaint, with ſome danger of his wiſdom.

The laſt is a young Gentleman, freſh from the School, who having gathered together divers *Latine* Sentences againſt Kings, bound them up in a long Speech, and interlarded them with certain *Ciceronian* exclamations; as, *O Tempora, O Mores.*—— Thus I have a little run over theſe accidents unto you, enough only to break out of that ſilence which I will not call a ſymptome of my ſickneſs, but a ſickneſs it ſelf. Howſoever, I will keep it from being hectical; and hereafter give you a better account of mine own obſervations. This week I have ſeen from a moſt dear Niece a Letter, that hath much comforted one Uncle, and a Poſtſcript the other. Long may that hand move, which is ſo full of kindneſs. As for my particular, Take heed of ſuch invitations, if you either love or pity your ſelves: For I think there was never Needle toucht with a Loadſtone that did more incline to the North, then I do to *Redgrave*. In the mean time, we are all here well; and ſo our Lord Jeſus preſerve you there.

Your faithfulleſt

poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Sir, I pray remember my hearty affection to my Couſin *Nicolas Bacon*, and all joy to the new conjoyned.

I ſhall propound unto you the next vveek a very poſſible Probleme, unto vvhich if you can deviſe how to attain: *Non ſcriveremo al Papa, fratello.*

London, June 16. 1614.

SIR,

THe Earl of *Northampton*, having after a lingring Feaver, ſpent more ſpirits then a younger body could well have born, by the inciſion of a wenniſh tumour grown on his thigh, yeſternight between eleven and twelve of the Clock departed out of this world: where, as he had proved much variety and viciſſitude of fortune in the courſe of his life, ſo peradventure he hath prevented another change thereof by the opportunity of his end: For there vvent a general voice through the Court on Sunday laſt, upon the commitment of Doctor *Sharp*, and Sir *Charles Cornwallis* to the Tower, that he vvas ſomevvhat implicated in that buſineſs; vvhereof I vvill give you a little account at the preſent, as far as I have been hitherto able to penetrate. *John Hoskins* (of vvhoſe impriſonment I vvrote unto you by the laſt Carrier) having at a re-examination been queſtioned, vvhether he vvell underſtood the conſequence of that *Sicilian veſper*, vvhereunto he had made ſome deſperate alluſion in the Houſe of Parliament, made anſwer (and I think very truly) that he had no more then a general information thereof, being but little converſant in thoſe Hiſtories that lay out of the vvay of his profeſſion: vvhereupon

upon being preſſed to diſcover vvhence he then had received this information, ſince it lay not vvithin his own reading; he confeſſed to have had it from Doctor *Sharp*, vvho had infuſed theſe things into him, and had ſolicited him to impreſs them in the Parliament: And further, that *Hoskins* hereupon demanding vvhat protection he might hope for, if afterwards he vvere called into queſtion; the ſaid Doctor ſhould nominate unto him, beſides others, (vvhoſe names I vvill ſpare) that Earl vvho hath novv made an end of all his reckonings: aſſuring him of his aſſiſtance by the means of Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, vvith vvhom the Doctor vvas conjoyned in this practice. Thus came Sir *Charles* into diſcovery: vvho being afterward confronted vvith the Doctor himſelf, though he could not (as they ſay) juſtifie his own Perſon, yet did he clear my Lord of *Northampton* from any manner of underſtanding vvith him therein upon his Salvation: vvhich yet is not enough (as I perceive among the People) to ſweep the duſt from his Grave. Thus you ſee (Sir) the natural end of a great Man, and the accidental ruine of others, vvhich I had rather you ſhould ſee in a Letter, then as I did on *Sunday* at *Greenwich*: vvhere it grieved my ſoul to behold a grave and learned Divine, and a Gentleman of good hopes and merits, carried away in the face of the vvhole Court, vvith moſt dejected countenances, and ſuch a greedineſs at all vvindows to gaze at unfortunate ſpectacles.

The Earl of *Northampton* hath made three of his Servants his Executors, with a very vaſt power, as I hear; and for Overſeers of his Will, my L. of *Suffolk*, my L. of *Worceſter*, and my L. *William Haward*: To the Earl of *Arundel* he left all his Land (which will amount

amount to some 3000 *l.* of yearly revenue) besides three or four hundred to Mr. *Henry Howard*, whereof he had before assured him at the time of his marriage; but neither of them to enjoy a penny thereof as yet this eight year: all which time he intendeth the fruits of his estate shall be collected and distributed in legacies and pious uses according to his will, which hath not yet been seen: but thus much as I have told you was understood before his expiration. To my Lord of *Suffolk* he hath left his House, but hath disposed of all the moveables and furniture from him: And it is conceived, that he died in some distastfull impression, which he had taken against him upon the voices that ran of my Lord of *Suffolk*'s likelihood to be Lord Treasurer; which place will now assuredly fall upon him; and the world doth contemplate my Lord of *Rochester* for Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Warden of the five Ports. As for the Lord Chamberlainship, it is somewhat more questionable between my Lord of *Pembroke*, the Duke of *Lenox*, and my Lord *Knowls*. A few dayes will determine these ambitions. In the mean time, I commit you, who have better objects, to the contemplation of them, and to the mercy of our loving God in all your wayes.

Your faithfullest poor Friend and Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Sir, I have (I know not how) mislayed the Character which I left you, therefore I pray send me in your very next a Copy. Therefore I have deferred the matter which I am to propound unto you, till the next week, because I must send you some

me Ore of Lead, and Iron withall, which I have
t yet gotten.

Is there no room left for the remembrance of that
ar Neice? God forbid. And I pray, Sir, tell
r beſides, that a certain Uncle here (whom yet I
ill not ſuffer to love her better then my ſelf) doth
eedily expect ſome news from her.

On Midſummer *Morning*, 1614.

SIR,

Like a Woman great with Child, I have threat-
ned you almoſt every week with a propoſition
profit; in which kind of breedings, methinks I
m of hard birth: but I hope to be brought to bed
the next Carrier. This week hath yet yielded
the publick ſmall effects to entertain you withall;
nly, ſome change of opinion about the future
reat Officers, which are now thus diſcourſed.

The Earl of *Suffolk* is ſtill beheld as a Lord
reaſurer, and that conjecture hath never fainted
nce the very firſt riſing of it. But it is thought,
hat the dignity of Privy Seal ſhall lye vacant as it
id in the *Cecilian* times, and that the execution
hereof with the title of Lord Chamberlain, ſhall
e laid on my Lord of *Sommerſet*; for if my Lord
f *Suffolk* ſhould remove from the Kings Privacy to
place of much diſtraction and cumber, without
aving a friend in his room, he might peradven-
ure take cold at his back: which is a dangerous
hing in a Court, as *Ruygomez de ſilva* was wont to
ay, that great *Artiſan* of Humours. Of the Of-
ice of *Five Ports*, I dare yet pronounce nothing.

My

My Lord, my Brother, will none of it (as I heard him seriously say) though it were offered him, for reasons which he reserveth in his own breast; yet the late *Northampton* did either so much esteem it, or thought himself to receive so much estimation from it, as he hath willed his Body to be laid in the Castle of *Dover*.

Chute, *Hoskins*, *Sharp*, and Sir *Charles Cornwallis* are still in the Tower, and I like not the complexion of the place. Out of *France*, we have the death of Dr. *Carrier*, whose great imaginations abroad have had but a short period. And so, Sir, commending you, and that dearest Neice, to Gods continual blessings and love, I rest,

Your own in faithfullest affection,

H. WOTTON.

The 7. of June, *Style of the place*, 1615.

SIR,

I Hear a little voice that you are come to *London*, which to me is the voice of a Nightingal; for since I cannot enjoy your presence, I make my self happy with your nearness: And yet now, methinks, I have a kind of rebellion against it, that we should be separated with such a contemptible distance. For how much I love you, mine own heart doth know; and God knoweth my heart. But let me fall into a passion: For what sin, in the Name of *Christ*, was I sent hither among Souldiers, being by my profession, Academical,

ical, and by my Charge, Pacifical? I am with-
a day or two to ſend *Cuthbert* my Servant home,
whom I ſhall tell you divers things. In the
an while, I have adventured theſe few lines,
break the Ice of ſilence; for in truth, it is a
ld fault. Our ſweet Saviour bleſs you.

Servidore,

Arrigo Wottoni.

My hot love to the beſt Neice of the World.

SIR,

AMong thoſe that have deep intereſt in what-ſoever can befall you, I am the freſheſt wit-eſs of your unexpreſſible affections to my moſt ar Neice; whom God hath taken from us into eternal Light and reſt; where we muſt leave r, till we come unto her. I ſhould think my lf unworthy for ever of that love ſhe bare me, in this caſe I were fit to comfort you. But it is at only God who can reconſolate us both: Who when he hath called now one, and then nother of his own Creatures unto himſelf, will claſp the final Book of his Decrees, and diſ-lve the whole. For which I hope he will ra-er teach us to thirſt and languiſh, then to re-ine at particular diſſolutions. I had in a pe-liar affliction of mine own (all within the mpaſs of little time) much conſolation from u; which cannot but be now preſent with our ſelf; for I am well acquainted with the rength of your Chriſtian mind.

There-

Therefore being kindly invited by the good Master of the *Rolls* to write by his expreſs Meſſenger unto you; let me (without further diſcourſe of our griefs) only joyn in this with him, to wiſh your company divided between him and me.

We will contemplate together when we meet our future bleſſedneſs, and our preſent uncertainties. And I am afraid we ſhall find too much argument to drown our private feelings in the publick ſollicitude. Gods love, wherein is all joy, be with us.

From *Weſtminſt.* this 16. *April*, 1626.

Your ever true and hearty Servant,

H. WOTTON.

From the Colledge *the* 14. *of* Decemb. 1628.

SIR,

I Have received from *London* the favourable lines wherewith you honoured me then near your departure; which you have ſomewhat allayed, with the promiſe of your return at the beginning of the next *Term*, which conſorteth well with a change of my purpoſe to Chriſtmas in *Kent*, born in me as I was reading your Letter: For what ſhould I do there in ſuch haſt after the Nuptials, when I ſhall come ſo as well in Lent? Much ado there hath been towards the point of concluſion; like that Aphoriſm of *Hyppocrates*: *Nox ante Chriſtum eſt moleſtiſſima*. Loves being in this like Feavers,

as

as well as in the reſt; for one definition will ſerve them both: *Cordis accenſio.*

Jack Dinely is not yet arrived, but we expect him daily as Meſſenger from the Queen his Miſtreſs, of her late happy delivery, after a foul report that had been maliciouſly thrown abroad of her miſcarriage by a fall. The Doctor likewiſe as yet hath given me no anſwer; but I will quicken him, and put life I hope into the buſineſs.

Now, let me tell you, That the noble Sir *Gervaſe Clifton* (as in good faith he is *in ipſis viſceribus*) hath been lately here with us, at a time when he hath been content to be entertained with the paſtimes of children; a Latin and a Greek *Hyppolitus*. How often you were remembred between us, is harder for me to tell you, then I hope for you to believe. Among other diſcourſe he ſhewed me a little excreſcence that he hath beginning upon the uttermoſt ball of his eyes, a filmy matter, like the rudiment of a Pin and Web as they call it. Whereupon fell into my memory a ſecret that Mr. *Bohan* had told me his Mother knew: How to take away that evil in growth, and perchance much more in the infancy, with a Medicine applyed only to the Wriſts. And I have heard your ſelf likewiſe ſpeak of a rare thing for that part. I beſeech you (Sir) be pleaſed with all poſſible ſpeed to entreat that receipt from Mr. *Bohan*, to whom we ſhall both be much beholden for it. And Sir *Gervaſe Clifton* is already ſo poſſeſſed, that he both ſayes and thinks, that nothing will cure him better then that which any way ſhall come through your hand unto him. No peace as yet with either of the Kings: The more wiſhed I think with *France*, the likelier perchance with *Spain*. No Offices diſpoſed in Court.

No

No Favourite but the Lord Treaſurer. More news in my next. For the preſent, God keep you in his dear love.

Servidore,

H. WOTTON.

To the Queen of Bohemia.

[*The beginning is wanting.*]

——YEt my mind and my ſpirits give me, againſt all the combuſtions of the World, that before I die I ſhall kiſs again your Royal hand, in as merry an hour as vvhen I laſt had the honour to vvait upon your gracious eyes at *Heidelberge*.

I vvill now take the boldneſs to conclude my poor lines vvith a private and humble ſuit unto your Majeſty; vvhich I bring vvith me out of *Suffolk* from Sir *Edmund Bacon*'s Houſe, and that vvhole Family; among vvhom your Majeſties name and vertues are in ſingular admiration.

There is of that Houſe a young Plant of ſome ſixteen years, vvell natured, and vvell moulded both for face and limbs, and one of the braveſt ſpirited Boyes in Chriſtendome. It is their joynt ambition, and they have made me their Interceſſor, that your Majeſty vvould be pleaſed to take him for one of your Pages. They vvant not means otherwaies to beſtow him, but their zeal towards your Majeſty, and their judgements guide them to this humble deſire, for his more vertuous and noble nurture. And leſt the ordinary number of

of your Majesties Attendants in that kind, being perhaps full, might retard their hope of this high favour, I have commission to assure your Majesty, that their meaning is not to aggravate your charge, for he shall have yearly a competent provision allowed to maintain him in good fashion. If my Niece *Bacon*, of dearest memory, were alive, (whom God took, not long after my Nephew *Albertus*, into his eternal Bliss) I am sure she would joyn in this suit unto your Majesty, that all Sexes might enter into the Obligation: But it is your Majesties own goodness, from which only we can hope for a favourable Answer. And so with all our Prayers, and with my particular obliged devotion, I most humbly commit your Majesty to God's reserved Blessings, and continual Love, ever resting,

Your Majesties poor Servant,

in all truth and zeal,

H. WOTTON.

On the 6. of *March* 1628.

SIR,

I Beseech you let these lines, with as much affection, though with less civility, convey my good wishes after you, which I should my self have brought before your departure.

You seem to have left the Town somewhat Prophetically, not to be near the noise of a very unhappy morning on *Munday* last; at which time the Parliament assembling again (which you know had been silenced till that day) was then re-ad-

journed by the King's especial Command till *Tuesday* next: Whereupon the Lower-House fell into such heat (one passion begetting another) that the Speaker (who as discharged by the Royal Power, did refuse to read a kind of Remonstrance which Sir *John Eliott* had provisionally set down in Paper) was forced into the Chair. It is strange to consider the lubricity of popular favour: For he that before during this whole Session (if so we may call it) and the former, was so highly commended, and even in this very act by some of the soundest and sobrest of the House; yet with the general Body is so stript of all his credit in a moment, that I have hardly seen in any Chymical work such a precipitation. What hath insued, will be better told you by this good Captain. Some think the Parliament doth yet hang upon a thread, and may be stitched again together: But, that is an airy conceit in my opinion; yet the peace of *Italy*, and the preparations of *France* against us, are voyced so strongly, that I verily believe we shall have a new summons.

The States of the low Provinces have since their *Western* great Prize, newly taken a *Careck* out of the East, of huge value: so as their acts are, *Sub utroque sonantia Phœbo.*

I have not yet sent those Verses to Mrs. *Katherin Stanhope*, that she may rather have them in the second Edition: For the Author hath licked them over, and you shall have a new Copy sent you by the next Carrier. We have met together once or twice since your going *loco solito*; but like a disjoynted company, wanting one of our best pieces: God send us often cheartully together; and so I rest,

Your hearty Servant, H.W.

When

When *Jack Dinely* ſhall return out of *Lincolnſhire*, I will give you an account what I writ by him to the Queen of *Bohemia* about your Spiritous Nephew. And I will not forget to rouſe the Doctor at *Cambridge* in the charitable intention. I pray remember my ſervice to your whole name, and to my Noble Couſin Sir *Drue*: To whom I will write the next week.

SIR,

I Know that between us there needs little compliment; for which I am for my part ſo unproper and ſo unmoulded, that I often neglect even civil duties; as well appeared by my coming from *London* without taking leave of you: but yet I cannot be wanting unto your ſelf, nor to the leaſt of your name in any real ſervice, for that were too much violence to my nature; therefore before my coming from *Weſtminſter*, I wrote ſuch Letters to the Queen of *Bohemia*, about your Spiritous *Frank* (as I hope, together with the good offices of the bearer thereof) will place him with the Prince of *Orenge* when he hath taken the Buſs. I could have wiſhed that his lively blood had been a little fleſhed at that ſiege. But *Jack Dinelies* long ſtay at *London* for his diſpatch, and at *Graveſend* for a wind, hath loſt us time. We hear that the King of *Spain* upon the peazing of his affairs in *Italy* (where a palm of ground importeth him more then a Province abroad) was reſolved to make the Marqueſs *Spinola* Governor of *Milan*, and that the Count *Henry Vanden Berge* ſhould command the Armies in chief under the Infanta. If this be ſo, there will be there

Bella pluſquam Civilia, for you know he is near of blood to the Prince of *Orenge*, though he hath ſome a little nearer; for he hath one or two by his own Siſter, as I remember they told me in his Town of *Maeſtrick*. The other employment of the Marqueſs, is a Counſel, plainly taken rather from neceſſity then reaſon. For otherwiſe jealouſie of State would hardly commit ſo much power to a *Genuaſe* in the Confines of his own Country, unleſs I have forgotten my foreign Maxims.

I have my head towards *Kent*, vvith a hope to ſee you firſt there, and afterwards at our Election: which will be the third of *Auguſt*. And ſo vvith my humble and hearty remembrance to that beſt of Men, and nobleſt of Ladies, I reſt

This *Munday* night late. 1629.

Il ſuiſceratiſſi manente voſtri,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

ALthough I intend to write again ſpeedily, and at a little more eaſe unto you by *James*, and then to ſend you and Sir *Gervaſe Clifton* the Copy of a Letter, vvhich *Giovanni* tells me you both deſire: yet leſt you ſhould ſend over your *Frank* (vvho hath from you all his ſails and fraught) vvithout part of his balaſt from me, I have haſtened the incloſed Letters unto your hand, vvith the Copy of mine to the Queen of *Bohemia*: the other are *ad hanc formam*. I could vviſh that he vvould begin vvith *Jack Dinely*, and ſlide firſt unſeen to *Leyden*; vvho vvill bring him thence to the Queen, and acquaint him with all due reſpects.

I

I have written to the Counteſs of *Leviſtain* to cheriſh him alſo: a great and aſſiduous Lady with the Queen, and by Title, my noble Secretary. This is all that I need ſay at the preſent. Doctor *Sharpe* and I do threaten you the next *Chriſtmaſs*. In the mean while

From the Colledge this *Tueſday*. 1629.

Your humble Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Optimo virorum; and to his moſt worthy Lady. S.

SIR,

THe very truth is, your love hath prevented me: for I meant by *Giovanni* to give you ſome account of what hath paſſed ſince our divorcement. When I had ſlept half an hour after you were gone from *Darford*, I found my ſelf *freſco come una roſa*: but I awaked in a ſtrange dream, that had ſeldom before befaln me in an Inn; finding nothing to be paid, not ſo much as for mine own Horſes: whereby the reaſon was plain of the paleneſs of my water which you obſerved; for none of the tincture of my gold was gone into the reckoning of the drink, as you had handled the matter.

At the top of *Shooters-hill* my Foot-man ſtaid, as if he had been watching the Beacon rather then for me; and told me there were good proviſions made at Sir *Adam Newtons* for you and me, with kind expectation of us both. But my ſelf being deſirous to reach *Eton* that night, as I did, (for my horſes I ſee travel beſt upon another mans purſe) I blanched the houſe, and ſent thither by *Giovanni* a

fair excuſe. True it is, we are much of a humour: *Cento Bue* will hardly draw us in a journey to any ſtrange place.

At that time likewiſe *Will* brought me a Letter from Mr. *Griffith*, which had been expreſly ſent to *Graveſend* the night before: whereby I ſaw *Giovanni* had taken a falſe alarm; for he was not to be gone till the *Munday* morning following: ſo as I have had time to ballaſt him with Letters. And I have intimated beforehand to your *Jack Dinely*, your purpoſe to paſs over the ſpiritous *Frank* as ſoon as you can trick him. We are now towards the Feſtival of our Election; wherein annually I make a ſhift to loſe four or five Friends, and yet do my ſelf no good; ſo as they are angry with me on the one ſide, and they laugh at me on the other.

I apprehend this year a great poverty of Veniſon with us: for I came too late to exchange your Warrant; and my Lady *Throckmortons* will not ſerve my turn.

Since my coming, Mr. *Turvil*, a *French* practical man, of good erudition, hath paſſed a day or two with me, from whom I hear a ſhrewd point: That the oath of peace (which ſhould have been taken between the two neighbouring Kings upon the ſame day) is put off for a moneth: I believe the ſtop be in *France*, to gain time to diſturb our Treaty with *Spain*.

Mr. *Pim* (a man whoſe ears are open) told me likewiſe yeſterday a ſtrange thing, that the Queen of *Bohemia* hath newly, being hunting, been chaſed away her ſelf with ſome affrightment from *Rhenen* by certain Troops of the enemy that have paſſed the *Iſel*. With whom it was feared that Count *Henry* of *Venden Berge* would joyn, and ravage the *Velow*. Yet withal

withal were come tidings, that the Prince of *Orenge* at the *Buſs* had had parly offered him. But my intelligences are Ciſtern-waters, you are nearer the Fountain. And not only, *Dulcius ex ipſo Fonte bibuntur aquæ*, but *verius* too. For both will ſtand in the verſe.

Before I end, let me beſeech you, to remember my humble and hearty devotion (in the very ſtyle of *Seneca* to his *Lucilius*, and I ſhall need to ſay no more) *Optimo Virorum*. I envy your enjoyments and converſations, and moſt when they are privateſt, for then they are freeſt. I hope the Noble Lady will return quickly again to her *Heſperian* Garden: To whom, I pray, likewiſe let my humble ſervice be remembred. And ſo I reſt,

From the Colledge this *Wedneſday* night, 1629.

Excepto quod non ſimul eſſes, cætera lætus;

H. WOTTON.

To the Queen of Bohemia.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty.

THis Bearer is that Lad, by name *Frank Bacon*, for whom your Majeſties interceſſion with the Prince of *Orenge*, hath bound ſo many unto you here. It is your goodneſs that hath done it, and therefore he is addreſſed by his Friends (and by me who am the meaneſt of them) firſt thorow your Gracious hands, and laid down at your Royal feet.

There is in him (I believe) mettal enough to be caſt into good form: and I hope it is of the nobleſt ſort, which is ever the moſt malleable and pliant. Only one thing I fear, that coming from a Country

life, into the luſtre of Courts, he will be more troubled with it, then with the hiſſing of Bullets.

Now when I conſider (as I do at the preſent) that beſides your Majeſties ancienter favours towards me, and to them that have been, and are ſo dear unto me; ſome gone, and ſome remaining: you have lately received the Child of my very worthy Friend, Mr. *Griffith*, about the Prince your Son, and honoured this other with your eſpecial recommendation, in ſuch a forcible and expreſs manner as you were pleaſed to do it: I ſay, when I conſider all this, I cannot but fall into ſome paſſionate queſtions with mine own heart. Shall I die without ſeeing again my Royal Miſtreſs my ſelf? Shall I not rather bring her my moſt humble thanks, then let them thus drop out of a dull Pen? Shall ſuch a contemptible diſtance, as between *Eton* and the *Hague*, divide me from beholding how her virtues overſhine the darkneſs of her fortune? I could ſpend much paper in this paſſion, but let it ſleep for the preſent: And God bleſs your Majeſty,

Auguſt 16. 1629.

As I am Yours,

H. WOTTON.

After this humble and juſt acknowledgement of my obligations unto your Majeſty, it were a miſerable thing for me to tell you, that at our late Election, I have remembred your Commandment in the firſt place, I ſhould indeed rather ask what your Majeſty will have next done.

My

My noble Nephew,

I Am ſorry that your Caſt of *Bucknames* cannot be ſerved at this Election: for to chooſe one of them (and that muſt have been in a low place) had been diſcomfortable, they will flie beſt at eaſe together. Yet I have thought of a way the next year, in all event not to fail; which is, to divide them between *Weſtminſter* and *Eton*. Their Election preceedeth ours ſome three weeks; and truly upon my late obſervation there, I muſt needs ſay, that School mouldeth good Scholers, and of certainer preferment to either of the Univerſities (for ſome go to *Oxford*, and ſome to *Cambridge*) then this: out of which the iſſue is always hard, and the entrance not always eaſie. Glad I am to hear by your Letter, that you have gotten ſo good a School-maſter, that they may be well mued in the mean while. Betwixt this and the next turn, I ſhall lay you down an infallible courſe for them. And this muſt content their good Father at the preſent.

If your Maſons Brother (who was here on *Sunday*) had ſtaid till the next morning, there was ſome practicable hope to have ſped the Boy this year to *Cambridge*, but ſome unfortunate haſte, and deſpair of ſo many places as fell open, carried him away.

If you had not intimated your own coming to *London*, you might perchance have been troubled vvith me in the Country: But I vvill novv languiſh for the hour you promiſe this place of ſeeing you here; vvhere your Veniſon (vvhich vve enjoy by exchange from Maſter *Vice-Chamberlain* hath

hath given us all occaſion to remember you thankfully, as a Benefactor to this Board. I vvill entertain you vvith no home-novelties; but let me tell you a freſh piece of no ſmall noiſe from abroad. The King of *Sweden* hath landed vvith 200 Ships a great Army of ſome 40000 in *Germany*, vvith intention (if the Party of our Religion be not all drowſie) to redreſs the common Cauſe; or at leaſt, to redintegrate his near Kinſman in *Meckleburge*, confiſcated, you know, by the Emperor: And the opportunity is fair, vvhile the *Auſtrian* power is diverted for the help of *Spain* into *Italy*. God bleſs it, and cheriſh it as his own buſineſs; and in his dear love I leave you: Ever remaining,

From your *Colledge* this 27. *July*, 1630.

Your faithfull Servant,
H. WOTTON.

As intricate as a Flea in a bottome of Flax.

Sir, I vvill vvrite to you at large after our Election, vvhen my Brains are ſetled.

Noble Sir, *and my moſt dear* Nephew,

WE vvere for three vveeks together ſo beſieged at your *Eton*, firſt vvith an overflow of vvater from the Weſt, and then vvith a deep Snow out of the Eaſt, (contrary quarters conſpiring againſt us) that our ordinary Boats, vvhich uſually go and return twice a vveek, could not paſs under the Bridges: vvhereby ſuch a Letter from you as never man received, lay ſilent at my Cham-

ber

herin St. *Martins-lane* till mine own coming to *London*; to the utter condemnation of my unthankfulneſs in the mean time: Which truly I ſhould fear, but that it is the natural property of the ſame heart, to be a gentle Interpreter, vvhich is ſo noble an Obliger.

Now, Sir, After I had received and read your Letter, I took ſome dayes to deliberate vvhat I ſhould do, and to let my judgement ſettle again vvhich vvas diſtracted vvith ſo kind a ſurpriſal: ſhould I uſe a feathered quill to vvrite unto you? or fly my ſelf to *Redgrave*? for you had given me vvings. At laſt, I reſolved upon both. Firſt, to make this true proteſtation by vvriting from my very bowels vvhere it is engraven. That though your bounty (conſidered in all the circumſtances, as vvell the form, as the matter, and the very opportunity of the time vvherein it came, and eſpecially vvithout any imaginable pretence of deſert in my ſelf) hath been ſuch, as never befell me before, nor can ever befall me again: yet have you therevvith not enriched, but ſtripped and deſpiſed me for ever: Nothing that vvas before, either in my power or poſſeſſion, being after this mine own: for it is all yours, if it vvere both the *Indies*. So is your kindneſs howſoever flowing from a tender affection: yet is vvith me like hard vvax, dropped and ſealed together.

The next after this, ſhall be to follow it my ſelf: but therein (after the *Spaniſh* phraſe) I vvill take language at the Rolls, vvhere I ſhall underſtand more punctually about vvhat time you purpoſe to be here. For, I aim at the convoying of you up to your *Eton*. About vvhich I vvill vvrite more by the next Carrier: and prepare your ſelf (Sir) vvith

with patience while we live, to be troubled weekly with my Letters; whereſoever I am, even when I ſhall have no more to ſay then this, which is the leaſt that can be ſpoken, that I am

Feb. 13. 1632. *Yours,*

H. WOTTON.

From *St. Martins* by the *Fields*,

this 18. of *April.* 1633.

To my Noble Nephew long and chearful years.

SIR,

BY beginning firſt with Philoſophy, I will diſcover the Method of my nature, preferring it before the ſpeculations of State.

Take any Vegetable whatſoever, (none excepted in the effect, though ſome difference in the degree) expreſs the juyce; put that in any veſſel of Wood or Stone, with a narrow neck and mouth, not cloſed at the top, but covered with any thing, ſo as it may work out above: Set it afterwards in ſome cold hole in a Cellar, let it ſtand there ſome three weeks, or a moneth, till by fermentation it have both purged it ſelf upwards, and by ſediment downwards. Then decant from it the clear juyce, and put that in a Limbeck *in Balneo Mariæ*, or *in Balneo Roris*. The firſt that riſeth will be *Aqua ardens*, uſeful

useful perchance according to the quality of the plant; as of Wormwood for the Stomach, of Succory, or any of those *Incubæ*, for the Liver: And on the sides of the Limbeck will hang a Salt; this is the extracting of Salt without calcination; which otherwise certainly must needs consume all the active powers of any Vegetable, and leave nothing but a palastick and passive vertue.

For the point of preserving that Salt afterwards from resolution by Air into Water, I hold it impossible, notwithstanding the proper examples that you alledge; which yet must of necessity yield to it. For as your excellent Uncle says, and says well, in not the least of his works (though born after him) of his Experiments; *Air is predatory.*

I have forgotten (for *memoria primò senescit*) whether I told you in my last a pretty late experiment in *Arthritical* pains: it is cheap enough. Take a rosted Turnip (for if you boyl it, it will open the pores, and draw too much) apply that in a Poultice to the part affected, with change once in an hour or two, as you find it dried by the heat of the flesh, and it will in little time allay the pain.

Thus much in our private way, wherein I dare swear, if our Medicines were as strong as our wishes, they would work extreamly.

Now, for the Publick, where peradventure now and then there are distempers as well as in natural bodies.

The Earl of *Holland* vvas on *Saturday* last (the day after your Posts departure) very solemnly restored at Council-Table (the King present) from a kind of Eclipse, wherein he had stood since the *Thursday* fortnight before: All considered, the ob-

obſcuration vvas long, and bred both various and doubtfull diſcourſe; but it ended vvell. All the cauſe yet known, vvas a verbal challenge ſent from him by Mr. *Henry Germain* in this form to the now Lord *Weſton*, newly returned from his forraign imployments, That ſince he had already given the King an account of his Embaſſage, he did now expect from him an account of a Letter of his, vvhich he had opened in *Paris*, and he did expect it at ſuch a time, even in the *Spring garden* (cloſe under his Fathers Window, vvith his Sword by his ſide.

It is ſaid (I go no farther in ſuch tender points) that my Lord *Weſton* ſent him by Mr. *Henry Percy* (between vvhom and the ſaid Lord *Weſton* had in the late journey (as it ſeems) been contracted, ſuch friendſhip as overcame the memory that he vvas Couſin-German to my Lord of *Holland*) a very fair and diſcreet anſwer: That if he could challenge him for any injury done him before, or after his Embaſſage, he vvould meet him as a Gentleman, vvith his Sword by his ſide vvhere he ſhould appoint. But for any thing that had been done in the time of his Embaſſage, he had already given the King an account thereof, and thought himſelf not accountable to any other. This publiſhed on *Thurſday* vvas fortnight, the Earl of *Holland* vvas confined to his Chamber in Court, and the next day morning to his Houſe at *Kenſington*, vvhere he remained vvithout any further circumſtance of reſtraint or diſpleaſure *Saturday* and *Sunday*: on vvhich dayes being much viſited, it vvas thought fit on *Munday* to appoint Mr. *Dickenſon* one of the Clerks of the Council, to be his Guardian thus far, that none vvithout his preſence ſhould accoſt him. This made the vulgar judgements run high, or rather

ther indeed run low, That he vvas a loſt and diſcarded man, judging as of Patients in Feavers, by the exaſperation of the fits. But the Queen, vvho vvas a little obliquely intereſted in this buſineſs; for in my Lord of *Holland*'s Letter, vvhich vvas opened, ſhe had one that vvas not opened, nor ſo much (as they ſay) as ſuperſcribed; and both the Queen's and my Lord of *Holland*'s vvere incloſed in one from Mr. *Walter Mountague* (vvhereof I ſhall tell you more hereafter.) The Queen I ſay, ſtood nobly by him, and as it ſeems preſſed her own affront. It is too intricately involved for me ſo much as to gueſs at any particulars. I hear generally diſcourſed, that the opened diſpatch vvas only in favour (if it might be obtained) of *Monſieur de Chateau Neuf*, and the *Chevalier de Jarr*; (vvho had both been here) but vvritten vvith caution (and ſurely not vvithout the Kings knowledge) to be delivered, if there vvere hope of any good effect; and perchance not vvithout Order from His Majeſty to my Lord *Weſton* afterwards, to ſtop the ſaid Letters, upon advertiſement that both *Chateau Neuf*, and *de Jarr* vvere already in the *Baſille*. But this I leave at large, as not knowing the depth of the buſineſs.

Upon *Munday* vvas ſeven-night fell out another quarrel, nobly carried (branching from the former) between my Lord *Fielding* and Mr. *Goring*, Son and Heir to the Lord of that Name. They had been the night before at Supper, I know not vvhere, together; vvhere Mr. *Goring* ſpake ſomething in diminution of my Lord *Weſton*, vvhich my Lord *Fielding* told him, it could not become him to ſuffer, lying by the ſide of his Siſter. Thereupon, theſe hot hearts appoint a meeting next day morning,

ing, themſelves alone, each upon his Horſe. They paſs by *Hide-Park*, as a place vvhere they might be parted too ſoon, and turn into a Lane by *Knights-bridge*; vvhere having tyed up their Horſes at a Hedge or Gate, they got over into a Cloſe, there ſtripped into their Shirts, vvith ſingle Rapiers, they fell to an eager Duel, till they vvere ſevered by the Hoſt and his ſervants of the Inne of the Prince of *Orange*, vvho by meer chance had taken ſome notice of them. In this noble encounter, vvherein blood vvas ſpent, though (by Gods providence) not much on either ſide, there paſſed between them a very memorable interchange of a piece of courteſie, if that vvord may have room in this place: Sayes my Lord *Fielding*, Mr. *Goring*, If you leave me here, let me adviſe you not to go back by *Piccadillia-hall*, leſt if miſchance befall me, and be ſuddenly noiſed (as it falleth out in theſe occaſions now between us) you might receive ſome harm by ſome of my friends that lodge thereabouts.

My Lord (replyes *Goring*) I have no vvay but one to anſwer this courteſie: I have here by chance in my Pocket a Warrant to paſs the Ports out of *England*, vvithout a Name (gotten, I ſuppoſe, upon ſome other occaſion before,) If you leave me here, take it for your uſe, and put in your own Name. This is a paſſage much commended between them, as proceeding both from ſweetneſs and ſtoutneſs of ſpirit, vvhich are very compatible. On the ſolemn day of *Saturday* laſt, both this difference and the Original, between the Earl of *Holland* and the Lord *Weſton*, vvere fairly reconciled and forgiven by the King, vvith ſhaking of hands, and ſuch Symbols of agreement: And likewiſe Sir *Maurice Dromand*, vvho had before upon an uncivil rup-

cure on his part, between him and my Lord of *Carlile*, been committed to the Tower, was then delivered at the same time: and so it all ended, as a merry Fellow said, in a *Maurice*. But whether these be perfect cures, or but skinnings over and Palliations of Court, will appear hereafter: Nay, some say very quickly; for my Lord *Westons* Lady, being since brought to bed of a Daughter, men stand in a kind of suspence, whether the Queen will be the Godmother after so crude a reconcilement, which by the Kings inestimable goodness, I think may pass in this forgiving week.

For foreign matter, there is so little and so doubtfull, as it were a misery to trouble you with it. The States confuted Treaty is put to the stock; and the Prince of *Orenge* (by account) gone to the Field two days since, having broken the business (as they say) by three demands; the resignment of *Breda* and *Guelder*, the dismantling of *Rheinberge*, and the equality of free exercise of Religion on either side. The States are strong in Arms, weak in Money, owing above six hundred thousand pounds *sterling* in bare Interest, besides the Capital. The Enemy hath neither Money, nor Men, nor Agreement. *Arena sine calce*; yet I hear (and *ex bonis Codicibus*) that the States are absolutely resolved to besiege no Town this year, unless it be some such place as may haply fall gently into their lap. They will range with divided Troops.

I will have a care in my Letters to the Kings only Sister (for that is now her published style, even in Sermons) so to commend your *Frank* unto her, (whom she was wont to call, when he went first over, her little Pig) that he may speedily have a Captains place.

God bleſs him, and bleſs your whole name; to which I am ſo much tied, both by the alliance of the ſweeteſt Niece that ever man had, and by your own kindneſs ſince her departure to Heaven. And ſo I reſt,

Your indiſſoluble Servant,

H. WOTTON.

Your *Heſter* is re-entred into the green ſickneſs, *faulte de je ſcay quoy.*

I pray burn this haſty Letter when you have read it.

SIR,

If you have (as I remember once you told me) the Will of Sir *William Pickering*, I pray favour me with a Copy of it for a certain purpoſe; out of which if I pick any good, you ſhall be partaker of it.

I have been for the moſt part ſick ſince I wrote laſt unto you, but am now chearful again.

To my Noble Nephew many chearful years.

SIR,

IT is worth the noting, how commonly the caſual firings of Houſes in Towns do follow one another; and ſo (methinks) do the inflammations of ſpirits in Courts: For after the ſolemn quenching of our late quarrels, there is fallen out a new, and ſhrewdly purſued, between Mr. *Harbert Price*, a Sewer to the Queen, and Mr. *Eliot*, Page to the King.

The

The beginning they ſay was upon very ſleight occaſion: but becauſe a young Lady is an ingredient in the ſtory, I will paſs it over. To field they went two days ſince upon hot and haſty blood (which ſomewhat ſaves it from a deliberate Duel) both ſhooting the Bridge in ſeveral Boats; yet the matter being before ſuſpected, my Lord Chamberlain ſent one Mr. *Haies* (a Scottiſhman, and a good Surgeon, though of late an ordinary Courtier on the Queens ſide) in queſt of them: who found them both on the *Surry* ſide, a mile or two below Bridge, cloſed, and (I hear) on the ground. But Mr. *Price* already hurt in three places, in one of his ſides, in his face, and in three of his fingers: the other is come off untouched. This *Price* hath been formerly bred a Souldier, and ſometimes (they ſay) a Lieutenant in the Low Provinces. Mr. *Eliot* ſcarce yet a man in years; but for height and ſtrength at his full prime, and in both above the common ſcantling. The King is herewith highly offended, ſucceeding ſo freſhly upon the late reconcilements: And it is doubted, they will at leaſt loſe their places.

The journey to *Scotland* continueth hotly, and His Majeſty removeth Houſe to *Theobalds*, that way, on *Saturday* come fortnight. But firſt muſt be cenſured the Biſhop of *Lincoln* for too many words, and the Citizens of *London* in their undertakings in *Ireland* for too few deeds; which I believe will both trench deep. I ſhall ſtay long enough in *London* (not intending to be gone before the Kings remove) to tell you the event: and truly without your benificent courteſie, I had been wrapt in a ſtrange riddle; for I could neither have ſtaid nor departed.

I received the Communion in St. *Bartholomews* on *Sunday* last (being *Easter-day*) in the same Pew with your *Hester* and her Mother; your *Hester* either becomes a little tincture of the Green-sickness well, or that becomes her well: well she looks, I am sure, and in my fancy draws towards the countenance of her Sister *Stanhop* more and more, but stealingly. My Niece *Margaret* is come home from her *Artisan* in *Southwark*, with some pretty amendment. The manner of his cure in those imperfections is somewhat strange; he useth no bindings, but oyls and stroakings; of which I take him to be (in all my reading) both the Instrument and the Author. My Niece *Ann* will prove one of the handsomest Creatures of the World; being much grown, and having rectified a little squinting, or oblique look which she had in one of her eyes, so far as the remainder will turn to a beauty. Her Mother hath of late been much troubled (and I think as much in her fancy, which is the greater cure, as in her body) with a pain in her right side, which changeth place, and therefore is sure but a *flatuous infirmity:* yet it hasteneth her removing to better Air.

From my Lady, my Sister at *Canterbury*, we hear nothing; I believe she is in travail with her own thoughts, about defacing the inscription of the Tomb, as far as *Catholico* and *Catholica* amount unto. And I could wish, as she took your advice in the invention and word upon the Marble, she had done so in the rest: but in that you were no apt Counsellor.

Now for foreign matters. We have fair tydings from *Germany*, that the Princes hold fast together, and things go well: and I am of opinion, that when

when those parts have learnt as well as the lower Provinces, to spend a Summer upon the siege of a Town, the War will nestle there as well as below. For they abound in strong places; and War it self is a great refiner of spirits in little time.

The States are in the Field earlier then heretofore: and in all judgement it importeth no less, then the countenancing and covering of a general revolt of the *geheerten Provinces*, as they call them: of that more in my next. And so (Sir) leaving you in our blessed Saviours love, I rest,

From my Lodging in S. *Martins-lane* by the *Fields*, *April* 25. 1633.

Your *Suiscerato servidore*,

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

When I have sent you (as I will do by the next Carrier) a new character, I will open my files.

St. *Martins-lane* by the *Fields*, *June* 3. 1633.

To my Noble Nephew, long and chearful years.

SIR,

THis other day at the Cock-pit in *Shoe-lane* (where my self am *rara avis*) your Nephew Mr. *Robert Bacon* came very kindely to me, with whom I was glad to refresh my acquaintance, though I had rather it had been in the Theater of *Redgrave*.

I asked him of his Brother, your *Frank*; and he told me he had been so hindered by winds, as he thought he was not yet gotten over: At which I was sorry, for he hath lost the honour of taking

Rheinberge: He may come yet timely enough to see *Guelders* yielded, and after that to have his share in *Juliers*, which they write from the Camp, will be the next piece; and so the States will be Masters of all the tract that lies between the *Maese* and the *Rhene*, and backed with one of the fatteſt Provinces of Chriſtendom. Beſides, we hear they have recovered their former footing in *Braſil*, and beaten the *Spaniſh* Fleet. It is hard to ſay, into what theſe proſperities will run out: for ſurely, if they can eſtabliſh a right correſpondency with the upper Armies of *Germany*, and either both hold out, or neither agree without the other; even this Summer will breed notable effects, and among other I hope, the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*; where, as much as the *Swede* had taken, is offered for 16000. Dollers; whereof the half is paid already by the Duke of *Simmern*, Adminiſtrator to the young *Palatine* in his minority, and the other moyety is expected from hence. One thing I muſt not omit to tell you, that the ſaid young Prince was at the ſiege of *Rheinberge* to initiate him in action. The young Cardinal *Infante* is come you know to *Milan*, and they ſay vvill there reſide as Governour till he can recover *Caſale* and *Pignerolo*, and purge *Italy* of the *French*: ſo as I believe he vvill come to *Bruxels* (for thither he finally tends) in the *Spaniſh* pace. Having thus a little skimmed over our foreign news, give me leave novv to entertain you vvith ſome novelties of Art. I ſend you herewith two printed Caps, a triangular Salt-celler, and the top of an Amber-Ring. The Caps is a pretty freſh invention of a very eaſie rate; for they vvill run ſhortly at ſome ſix pence apiece: and they ſay the ſale is monopolized by a Woman at *Amſterdam*; which may come to

to ſome pretty perfection in the ornament of Curtains and Valances of Beds, or in ſome fine hiſtorified Table-cloth for a Banquet, or the like. In the invention of the Salt-celler you have an intereſt your ſelf; for I remember (Sir) you ſhewed me a vvhole furniture of Marble Salt-cellers for a Table of your beſpeaking: But there is one that hath only gone beyond you in the cheapneſs of the Material; for this vvhich you novv receive is but of Seacole, and it is ſtrange to ſee vvhat a poliſhment ſo baſe a ſtuff doth take, like the ennobling of a Clown. To the broken Ring there belongs a little more diſcourſe. I bought for a trifle in *Lombard-ſtreet* long ſince, becauſe it had a Fly intombed in the ſealing part; vvhich if it had been preciſely in the middle, vvould have ſhewed like the ſculpture of the Signet it ſelf. Novv a vvhile ſince by a fall from a Table to the ground, it brake, though in a boarded room: vvhereupon there fell a conceit into my mind, that the Ring vvas Artificial Amber, and not Natural; as indeed my Servant *Giovanni* and I have ſince plainly diſcovered. Novv I cannot chuſe but ſmile vvhen I think hovv much more the firſt Seller of it might have had from me for the faſhood (if he vvould have ſaid ſo) then for the truth: For ſurely many rare things may be made of this compoſition, and intire inſectiles of any greatneſs, and in any poſture be incloſed therein; vvhich I am ſure vvill inflame you, as it hath ſet me on fire already to find the vvay hovv to clarifie the Paſta, vvhich ſeems to be of Roſin, and perchance ſome duſt of true Amber. And thus you ſee vvhat eaſie vvayes I take to pleaſe my ſelf, vvhile I am converſing vvith you. Let me add to theſe, a ſtrange thing to be ſeen in *London* for a

couple of pence, vvhich I knovv not vvhether I ſhould call a piece of Art, or Nature: It is an *Engliſh man* like ſome Swabber of a Ship come from the *Indies*, vvhere he hath learned to eat Fire as familiarly as ever I ſavv any eat Cakes, even whole glowing Brands, vvhich he vvill craſh vvith his teeth, and ſwallovv. I believe he hath been hard famiſhed in the *Terra de Fuego*, on the South of the *Magellan ſtrait*.

Sir, I have heard (I knovv not by vvhom) that you had a purpoſe to be here this *Whitſontide*; but imagining that at leaſt Mr. *Chitock* may meet you by the vvay, I have ventured the trouble of theſe lines unto you. For mine own eſtate, I muſt acquaint you, (becauſe vvhether vvell or ill, I am yours) that of late I have been much troubled vvith certain ſplenetick vapours, mounting to the top of my Stomach vvhen it is empty: For vvhich I am in a courſe of gentle Phyſick at the preſent, remembring that of *Galen*, *Ego ſoleo hortari amicos meos, ut in melancholicis affectionibus abſtineant à validioribus remediis.* My beſt Phyſick will be your company,

To whom there is none bound in truer ſervice then,

H. WOTTON.

OH my moſt dear Nephevv (for ſo I ſtill glory to call you, vvhile Heaven poſſeſſeth her vvho bound us in that Relation) hovv have I of late, after many vexations of a faſtidious infirmity, been at once rent in pieces by hearing that you vvere at *London*: What! ſaid I, and muſt it be at a time vvhen

vvhen I cannot flie thither to have my vvonted part of that converſation, vvherein all that knovv him enjoy ſuch infinite contentment? Thus much did ſuddenly break looſe from the heart that doth truly honour you. And novv (Sir) let me tell you both hovv it hath gone vvith me, and hovv I ſtand at the preſent. There is a triple health: health of Body, of Mind, and of Fortune; you ſhall have a ſhort account of all three.

For the firſt; it is novv almoſt an vvhole Cycle of the Sun, ſince after certain fits of a Quotidian Feaver, I vvas aſſailed by that Splenetick Paſſion, vvhich a Countrey good Fellovv that had been a piece of a Grammarian meant, vvhen he ſaid he vvas ſick of the *Flatus*, and the other hard word; for *Hypocondriacus* ſtuck in his Teeth: It is the very *Proteus* of all Maladies; ſhifting into ſundry ſhapes, almoſt every night a nevv, and yet ſtill the ſame; neither can I hope, that it will end in a ſolar Period, being ſuch a Saturnine Humour; but though the Core and Root of it be remaining, yet the Symptomes (I thank my God) are vvell allayed: And in general, I have found it of more contumacy then malignity; only ſince the late cold vveather, there is complicated vvith it a more Aſthmatical ſtraitneſs of reſpiration then heretofore: yet thoſe about me ſay, I bear it vvell, as perchance cuſtome hath taught me; being novv familiarized and domeſticated evils: In the Tragedians expreſſion, *Jam manſueta Mala*. And thus much of the habit of my Body. On the other ſide, my Mind is in a right Philoſophical Eſtate of health; that is, at an equal diſtance both from deſire and hope; and ambitious of nothing, but of doing nothing, and of being nothing: yet

yet I have ſome imployment of my thoughts to keep them from mouldring, as you ſhall know before I cloſe this Letter. But firſt, touching the third kind of health. My condition or fortune was never better, then in this good Lord Treaſurers time: the very reverſe of his proud Predeceſſor, that made a ſcorn of my poverty, and a ſport of my modeſty; leaving me in bad caſe; and the world ſo, as though we now know by what Arts he lived, yet are we ignorant to this hour by what Religion he died, ſave only that it could not be good, which was not worthy the profeſſing. This free paſſage let me commit to your noble breſt, remembring that in confidence of the receiver, I have tranſgreſſed a late Counſel of mine own which I gave to a young friend, who asking me caſually of what he ſhould make him a ſute, as he was paſſing this way towards *London*; I told him that in my opinion, he could not buy a cheaper nor a more laſting ſtuff there then *ſilence*. For I loved him well, and was afraid of a little freedome that I ſpied in him. And now, Sir, I muſt needs conclude (or I ſhall burſt) with letting you know, that I have divers things in wilde ſheets that think and ſtruggle to get out of ſeveral kinds, ſome long promiſed, and ſome of a newer conception: but a poor exerciſe of my Pen (wherewith I ſhall only honour my ſelf by the dedication thereof unto your own perſon) is that which ſhall lead the way by mine and your good leave, intending (if God yield me his favour) to Print it before it be long in *Oxford*, and to ſend you thence, or bring you a Copy to our *Redgrave*. What the ſubject is you muſt not know beforehand: for I fear it will want all other grace, if it loſe virginity. And ſo the Lord of all abundant joy keep you

you long, *con quella buona Ciera*, which this my Servant did relate unto me,

Who live, at all your commands,

H. WOTTON.

From your Colledge
this *Ashwednesday*,
1637.

Postscript.

Mr. *Clever* one of the now Fellows of this Colledge (where have been divers changes since it had the honour and the gladness to receive you) being this day returned hither from the Excellent Lord Keeper, to whom we had addressed him about a business that concerneth us: Tells me even at this instant in the account of his journey; that it pleased his good Lordship to enquire of him twice or thrice very graciously touching my health. I beseech you (My Noble Nephew) let his Lordship see, if it please you, this whole Letter (for I dare trust his indulgent goodness, both with my liberties and with my simplicities) and that will tell him my present Estate: which by making it any part of his care, is for ever at his most humble service.

Noble Sir; above all the most honoured and loved.

UPon the receipt of a Letter from you (which came late, and I know not by what misadventure, half drowned, to my hands) with advertisement, that you had been at *Sudbury* in your passage

paſſage homewards aſſailed with a Quartan: I reſolved immediately to viſit you by this Bearer the beſt of my flights, and lately well acquainted himſelf with farther travellers, who yet hath been kept here after my ſaid reſolution, that he might bring you a full account of the buſineſs touching my inviolate Neece ſo dear unto us both, which was a part of your foreſaid Letter, and wherein I am confident you will receive very ſingular contentment out of the very Originals of ſome, and true Copies of other Letters, which I ſend you by this my ſaid inward ſervant; and if he were not ſo, I would not have intruſted him with ſo tender Papers. The reſt of his ſtay, was only that I might collect among my poor memorials and experiments ſomething conducible to the recovery of your health, wherein I reckon my ſelf as much intereſſed as in any one thing of this world. I will not ſay unto you, *Courage*, as the *French* uſe to ſpeak: for you have enough of that within your ſelf: Nor, *Be merry*, in our *Engliſh* phraſe (for you can impart enough of that even to others in the incomparable delight of your converſation) But let me give you two comforts, though needleſs to the ſerenity of your ſpirits. The firſt, That I hope your infirmity will not hold you long, becauſe it comes (as I may ſpeak, according to the barbarous Tranſlators of *Avicenna*) *In complexionato ſuo*: that is in the very ſeaſon of the revolution of melancholick humours, for *Omnis Morbus contra complexionatum Patientis vel Temporis, eſt periculoſus aut longus.* The other, That it hath not ſucceeded any precedent cauſtick diſeaſe, becauſe thoſe Quartans are of all the moſt obſtinate which ariſe out of the Incineration of a former Ague. The reſt I have committed to the inſtru-

ſtructions and memory of this Bearer, being himſelf a Student in Phyſick; and though I dare not yet call him a good Counſellor, yet I aſſure you, he is a good Relator: with this diſpatch I will intermingle no other vulgar ſubject, but hereafter I will entertain you with as jolly things as I can ſcramble together. And ſo, Sir, for the preſent, commending you into the ſweet and comfortable preſervation of our dear God: I reſt,

From the Colledge. *Your faithful poor Servant,*
Novemb. 6. 1638.

H. WOTTON.

My Noble, Honoured, Loved, ever Remembred, ever Deſired Nephew.

I Shall give to morrow morning *Matthew Say* our Boat-man, before his going, a ſhilling, and promiſe him another at his return to deliver this ſmall packet with his own hands at the *Green-Dragon* in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, according to the form of your addreſs, not for any value of mine own Papers, but for ſome things therein contained, which I wiſh may come ſafely and quickly to you. And firſt, I ſend you your immortal Uncles Confeſſion of his Faith, which I did promiſe you at *Canterbury*, ſolidly and excellently couched, as whatſoever elſe had the happineſs to fall under his Meditation and Pen.

Next;

Next; you receive a Letter freſhly written me from *Cambridge*, with mention (God bleſs us) of a Jeſuite of your name: who ſeems (as all that comes from any of you is piercing) to have ſent over lately ſome pretty inſinuative Book in matter of Theological Controverſie, perchance better dreſſed then any before, and with more reliſh commended to the vulgar taſte, but I believe it will be the ſame to the ſtomack: for well they may change their form, but it is long ſince we have heard their ſubſtance over and over, ſtill the ſame *ad faſtidium uſque*. I ſhall languiſh to know how he toucheth upon your Name and ſtirp. The Name of my friend who writ me the ſaid Letter, I have defaced for the cenſure of ſome other things therein, which I ſhould be ſorry to adventure at large: but you ſhall know him from me hereafter; and believe it, he will be worth your knowing.

I cannot forbear to tell you a thing (I know not whether I ſhould call it news, becauſe it is nearer you then to us) but ſtrange in truth, written me from the ſaid Univerſity at the ſame time by the Provoſt of Kings Colledge there; between whom and me doth paſs much familiar correſpondency. It is of a weekly Lecture there performed heretofore by the Perſon of Mr. *Chriſtopher Goad*, and lately depoſed with ſevere commandment (as it ſhould ſeem) from above, whereupon the Women eſpecially by way of revenge for that reſtraint do flock to St. *Maries* in ſuch troops, and ſo early, that the Maſters of Art have no room to ſit; ſo as the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houſes were in deliberation to repreſs their ſhoaling thither. Methinks, it is a good thing, when zeal in a land grows ſo thick and ſo warm. But ſoft, if I lanch any

any farther, I may perchance run (which yet were a great miſtake) into the name of a Puritan. For that very Lecturer which is now depoſed, did live heretofore with me at my Table upon eſpecial choice: being in truth a man of ſweet converſation, and of ſober ſolidity.

Now, for other things, *Nicolas Oudard* brought me the *Friday* after his departure from you the glad tidings of your Agues diſcharge, as you then conceived it would be at the twentieth Acceſs, according (as you ſeem to have told him) to a common obſervation with you there: ſo as in *Suffolk*, I ſee you count Quartan fits, as you do your Sheep, by the ſcore. I could heartily wiſh you would take for ſome time after it *Alternis Diebus*, my preparation of the *Lignum Sanctum*, with addition likewiſe of the roots of *China*, *Enula Campana*, and a ſprig of *Tamariſque*, all in the decoction of Barley-water, and quickned with a little ſprinkling of a Lemmon: a rare Receipt to corroborate the Viſcera, and to keep the Stomack in *Tono*. My ſaid *Nicolas* tells me likewiſe, that you began to chirp upon being in *London* the next Term. I ſhould be glad with your favour to know that point preciſely: for having a purpoſe (by Gods dear bleſſing) to viſit you at *Redgrave* (which will be the beſt Cordial I took in long time) I would ſhape my courſe circularly, either from *Suffolk* to *Kent*, or from *Kent* to *Suffolk*, as I ſhall hear of your motions towards the beginning of next Lent. For novelties of Court and State, all mens minds at the preſent with us ſeem magnetical, looking towards the North. Order is come down this day to the Juſtices of this Shire, about a general muſter at *Aldbury* the next week, and for eſpecial watch at the

the Beacons; ſo as any burning of a buſh by chance near one of them, would ſet the whole Province in an alarm; but notwithſtanding theſe good providences, we hope well of the iſſue; and the rather; for that a pretty ſtrong conceit runneth, that the Deanary of *Durham* is reſerved for Doctor *Belkanquel*, as a reward of his travels to and fro in this great buſineſs. While we are uniting our ceremonious breaches, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* abroad treat hard this Winter about a peace, as one writeth, (and I believe very truly) without conſideration of any other Prince or State but themſelves. If this be ſo, and take effect in that manner, then is *Charles de Loraine Exutus Lepidus* ſtript to his ſhirt, the Count *Palatine* left at large, and the *Swede* muſt ſtand upon his own feet. But *Brevibus Momentis ſumma vertuntur*: all depends upon the taking, or not taking of *Briſach*, the *Helena* of *Germany*: and though a Town indeed of great ſtrength and advantage, yet a poor price for ſo much blood as hath been loſt about it. While I am talking of War, let me tell you what I hear, that your Sir *Jacob Aſtley* is grown a great man at Court in private introducements to the King, together with the Earl *Marſhal*: our good Sovereign will feel a ſufficient man quickly. The States lie ſtill and cloſe oppreſſed with the adverſities of the laſt year; and with nothing more, then the late ruine of forty well laden Ships by the *Texel*, wherein with deploration of the whole Province were loſt one thouſand Mariners.

Touching the ſubject whereof I ſent you an account by *Nicolas*, I have heard nothing ſince to increaſe my hope, and much leſs my faith. You ſhall have more the next week. Till when and ever our ſweet Jeſus have you in his love.

Your Servant *alla ſuiſcerata*, H. W.

SIR,

Since I concluded this, Mr. *Hales* (our *Bibliotheca ambulans*, as I use to call him) came to me by chance, and told me, that the Book of Controversies issued under the name of *Baconus*, hath this addition to the said name, *alias Southwell*; as those of that Society shift their names as often as their shirts: And he says it is a very poor thing, only graced with a little method.

From your Colledge Decemb. 5. 1638.

SIR,

After the rest of your trouble, at the present there remaineth a proposition to be consulted with you; about which I should esteem the charge of an expres Messenger not ill expended, though you were at *Jerusalem*. And both Mr. *Harison* and my self think no man living more proper to solve it, then our Sir *Edmund Bacon*. The Question is this, whether there may not be found some natural Philosophical way to determine the measure of a minute, or quarter, or half, or intire hour, or any portion of time more precisely and uniformly, and infallibly then hath been yet invented by any Mechanical and Artificial motion? And particularly, whether it may not be done by the descent of drops through a Filter, either in *Manica Hippocratis*, or in a tongue of cloth equally thick, with consideration likewise of all circumstances in that liquid substance which must sink through it. If this may be done, there will be a mighty point obtained in

the rectifying of the Longitudes of the Earth, which depend upon the thoment of the Lunar Eclipſes; and Moſe, upon the exact determination of the beginning and ending of an hour: for which purpoſe the great *Tycho Brach* compoſed divers *Horologies*, and Hour-glaſſes, ſome running with ſimple Water, ſome with diſtilled Spirits, ſome with pulverized Mettals, and ſome with crude Mercury; but never to any infallible ſatisfaction of the point propounded: which likewiſe would be of ſingular uſe in divers Aſtronomical obſervations, if it could be once juſtly regulated. This we commend to your curious judgement. My Servant *Nicolas* and I hope to ſend you ſome good Flints to be Agitized by your miraculous invention.

I pray, Sir, if you have any of thoſe Iſland ſtones which you mentioned unto me at *Canterbury*, beſtow a few upon me. But above all, forget not to let me know where you will be about the beginning of Lent.

Iterum & Iterum vale.

A late Letter written towards the end of Lent, by Sir Henry Wotton *Provoſt of his Majeſties Colledge at* Eaton.

To the Right worthy his ever truly Honoured, Sir Edmund Bacon *Knight and Baronet, touching the loſs of Friends, and final reſignation of our ſelves.*

SIR,

ALl the faculties of my mind (if they had ever been of any value) and all the ſtrength of my body, muſt yield to the ſeignory and ſoveraignty of

of time over us: But the laſt thing that will die, or decay in me, is the remembrance, how amidſt that inestimable contentment which I enjoyed (as all others do) in the benefit and pleaſure of your Converſation (being then with you at *Redgrave* in *Suffolk*, both your delightful Manſion and Philoſophical retreat, where you are beſt, becauſe there you are moſt your ſelf, though every where well imparted to your Friends) I was then ſurprized with an advertiſement from Court, of the death of Sir *Albertus Morton*, my dear Nephew, in the verdure (as I may term it) of his employments and fortunes under the beſt King and Maſter of the World: And how no great time after (as adverſities are ſeldom ſolitary) there ſucceeded in the ſame place the departure of my no leſs dear Niece, your Lady, and I dare ſay, your ſtill beloved Conſort (for love and life are not conterminable) as well appeareth by your many tender expreſſions of that disjuncture, and by that Monument of your own excellent invention which you have raiſed to her memory.

This (Sir) ever freſhly bleeding in me, and withall revolving often in my retired thoughts, how I have long ſince over-lived my loving Parents, all mine Uncles, Brothers and Siſters, beſides many of mine eſpecial Friends and Companions of my youth, who have melted away before me, and that I am now my ſelf arrived near thoſe years which lie in the ſuburbs of Oblivion, being the ſole Maſculine Branch of my good Fathers Houſe in the County of *Kent*: So as that poor Name and Reputation which my Anceſtors have heretofore ſuſtained by Gods permiſſion, muſt expire and vaniſh in my unworthineſs: I ſay (Sir) again and again,

debating often theſe Circumſtances vvith my ſelf (and truly not vvithout the common vveakneſſes and paſſions of humanity, from vvhich I am of all men leaſt exempted) an extream deſire did lately aſſail me to entertain between my other Private Studies, ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might vvork upon mine own mind, and at leaſt abſtract a while, if not elevate my cogitations above all earthly objects. Whereupon, towards the end of this laſt Lent (a time of contracted thoughts) I fell to think of that Theme, vvhich I have novv entituled, The loſs of Friends, and final Reſignation of our ſelves. Intending, though it be the higheſt and uttermoſt point of Chriſtian Philoſophy, to familiarize it between us as much as I can, and to addreſs it in form of a Letter to your ſelf. For, vvith vvhom can I treat of this matter more properly, being both of us almoſt preciſely of equal age, and by the love vvhich you are pleaſed to bear me, all Joy in the Fruition, and all Grief in the Privation of Friends common between us.

Now Sir, &c.

My dearly and worthily ever honoured Nephew,

THis is that Saturnine time of the year which moſt moleſteth ſuch ſplenetick bodies (as mine is) by the revolution of melancholick blood, which throweth up faſtidious fumes into the head, whereof I have had of late my ſhare: Howſoever, this truſty Fellow of our Town being hired by one about ſome buſineſs to *Cambridge* (as he is often hither and thither) and acquainting me commonly with his motions, I have gladly ſtretched his preſent

ſent journey as far as the *Redgrave*: hoping by him to have an abſolute account of your well being, which *Nicolas* my Servant left in a fair diſpoſition.

Let me therefore by this opportunity entertain you with ſome of our neweſt things; but briefly, for I dare not truſt my brains too much.

Firſt, for the affairs of *Scotland*: *Eſt bene non potuit dicere, dixit, Erit.* The wiſeſt Phyſitians of State are of opinion that the *Criſis* is good; and I hope your Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, and my Sir *Thomas Morton*, will have a fine employment upon the borders; Honour by the choice of their perſons, money by their journal pay, little pains, and no danger. Our Court mourneth this whole Feſtival with ſad frugality for the untimely death of the young Duke of *Savoy*, our Queens Nephew, haſtened they ſay by the Cardinal his Uncle, who would firſt have illegitimated him, and that not taking effect by the ſupportment of *Spain*, he fell to other Roman Arts; ſo as the ſaid Cardinal to decline this black report, is gone a wandring; and as it is thought, will viſit bare-foot the Holy Land. In the mean time, methinks I ſee him with a crew of *Banditi* and *Bravi* in his company, and his own Conſcience a continual Hangman about him. The Queen Mother ſtirreth little between Majeſty and Age: She hath publiſhed a ſhort *Manifeſto*, touching the reaſons of her receſs from *Bruxels*, wherein is one very notable conceit: *That ſhe had long born ſilently the affronts done her by the Prince, Cardinals, Counſellors, and under-Officers, upon no other reaſon, then the very ſhame to have received them.* Of himſelf ſhe ſpeaketh with good reſpect, but I know not how the Character of Humility (which ſhe giveth him)

will be digeſted: for perchance he had rather have been painted like a Lion then a Lamb. Our Queens Delivery approacheth, in a good hour be it ſpoken. There is newly ſworn her Servant, a lovely Daughter of Sir *Richard Hariſons*, our Neighbour in *Barkſhire*, to anſwer *Madamoiſelle Darci* on her Mothers ſide. The Count *Palatine* ſince his late defeat, is gotten in diſguiſed habit to *Hamborough*, and as they ſay, hath been there viſited by the King of *Denmark*, amidſt that cold Aſſembly of Ambaſſadors: But in his paſſage between the ſaid Town and *Bremen*, was like to have been taken by an ambuſh of Free-booters, who no doubt would have made ſale of him. Certain it is, that his Brother Prince *Rupert* fought very nobly before he yielded; whereof ſuch notice was taken, even by the Count of *Hatfield* himſelf, that he hath ever ſince been kept by him in a ſtrong place, rounded day and night with a guard of naked Swords; yet in the Tablets of one that had leave to viſit him, the Prince made a ſhift to comfort the Queen his Mother with a line or two to this ſence: *That whatſoever became of himſelf, he would never change his Religion, nor his Party.* We hear my Lord *Craven* hath made his compoſition under 20000. *l.* As for *Ferents*, I believe his own head muſt ranſome him, or his heels. The Popes Treaty at *Colen* goes *Il paſſo del Gambaro*, rather backward then forward. And all deliberatives of State ſeem to depend much upon the event of *Briſach*, which I uſe to call the *German Helena*, long woed, but for ought I hear yet, an Imperial Virgin. Theſe are our foreign Rapſodies: I will end in ſomewhat nearer us. You receive herewith the Copy of my laſt or ſecond Letter to Mr. *Cary Raleigh*, and his anſwer thereunto.

Believe

Believe it Sir, (whatſoever conceit his actions ſhall breed) that he is a Gentleman of dextrous abilities, well appearing in the management of a buſineſs ſo tender and delicate, as that which now runneth between us, which for my part I reſolve to preſs no further: For (to depoſe my mind as plainly as I may ſafely in your breaſt) I never could obſerve any great good effect to enſue upon violent diſſwaſions in buſineſſes of this nature, but rather an obduration then an abverſion: Howſoever, I would fain (as the occaſion ſuggeſteth) propound unto your judgement a pretty Moral doubt, *ſuper tota materia*, which I have heard diſcuſſed, and reſolved affirmatively among ſome skilful Humoriſts, vvho knevv the World vvell. The Queſtion vvas this, *Whether in ſuch a caſe preciſely as ours of meer ſcandal, vvithout apparent truth, ſome inclining to think the worſt, and ſome the beſt, there be left room for any middle imagination between good and ill?* In the ſolution of which point, I will crave pardon to reſerve a ſecret till we meet, at which I believe you will ſmile.

We are here (God be bleſſed) all well: Our *Audit* ended a little before *Chriſtmaſs-day*, more troubleſome then fruitful, after the faſhion. The ſame Officers as the year before, every man of them your Servant, or otherwiſe they had wanted my voice. Mr. *Hariſon* hath been of late ſomewhat more then heretofore troubled with certain *Nephritical* fits; but they are tranſient and light, *Et jam manſuetæ malæ*. Mr. *Powel* ſpeaketh of you with much devotion, as all other whom you have once touched with your Magnetical vertue. In the Concluſion let me, as with a Box of *Marmalad*, cloſe up your ſtomach with one of the Genialeſt pieces that I have read in my life-time, of the ſame un-

affected and diſcheveled kinde, (as I may term it) ſent me newly from *London*; which if you have ſeen before, I am out of countenance. And ſo (Sir) vviſhing you (for I cannot vviſh you better on earth) after the ſweet apprehenſion of Gods continual favour, the fruition of your ſelf: I reſt, at what diſtance ſoever,

From the Colledge on the Eve of the *New year*, through vvhich God ſend you a bleſſed paſſage, and many more.

Your unſeparable Servant,

H. WOTTON.

A D-

ADDITIONAL LETTERS TO SEVERAL PERSONS:

Now first Publiſhed from the Authors own Copies.

King *James* to Sir *Henry Wotton*, 1616.

To Our Right truſty and well-beloved Sir Henry Wotton, *Knight, Our Ambaſſador Reſident with the State of* Venice.

James R.

RIght truſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas many of the Gentry, and others of Our Kingdomes, under pretence of travel for their experience, do paſs the *Alpes*, and not contenting themſelves to remain in *Lombardy* or *Tuſcany*, to gain the language there, do daily flock to *Rome*, out of vanity and curioſity to ſee the Antiqui-

tiquities of that City; where falling into the company of Priests and Jesuites, or other ill-disposed persons, they are not only corrupted with their Doctrine, but poysoned with their Positions, and so return again into their Countreys, both averse to Religion, and ill-affected to Our State and Government. Forasmuch as we cannot think upon any better means to prevent that inconvenience hereafter, then by imposing the care of that business in part upon you: These are therefore to require you, to take notice with diligence of all such, as by the way of *Venice* shall bend their courses thither, and to admonish them, as from Us, that they should not presume to go beyond the bounds of the Dukedome of *Florence*, upon any occasion whatsoever. After which advice of yours given unto them, if any Subject of Ours, of what degree or condition soever, shall be either so much forgetfull of the duty he doth owe to Us, or so little respective of his own good, as to press further, to the breach of Our Commandment delivered them by you; Our Will and Pleasure is, that you should forthwith acquaint us with the Names of the persons, who shall so miscarry themselves, that upon notice thereof from you, We may take such further order with them, for the redress of this mischief, as to Our Wisdome shall seem good.

Given under Our Signet at *Newmarket*, the seventh day of *December*, in the fourteenth year of Our Raign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fiftieth, 1616.

Venice,

[*Venice*, 1618.]

My moſt Honoured Lord and Patron,

MY humble ſuit unto your Lordſhip is this: It is His Majeſties uſual Grace, to yield His forraign Servants the comfort of His Gracious ſight once in three years, as this Republick doth likewiſe recall their Miniſters, vvhich Term by my Privy Seal vvill end on the firſt of *February* next.

I do therefore humbly beg, that by your Lordſhips interceſſion, I may have leave to return home for a moneth or ſix vveeks, concurring two urgent occaſions.

The one, for the purſuit of a buſineſs depending on a Patent long ſince granted to Sir *Edward Dymock* and me, vvhereunto I am ſummoned by His Majeſties Attorney, as vvill appear unto your Lordſhip by the Copy of the ſaid Attorneys Letter, (coming herewith) vvritten to my Brother Sir *James Wotton*, my Feoffee in truſt; vvherein my preſence is neceſſary, by reaſon of ſome differences between the ſaid Sir *Edward Dymock* and me. And this is a Caſe vvherein vve are to maintain His Majeſties Title, as hath been endeavoured, vvith our own moneys hitherto unfruitfully ſpent.

The other, for the re-ordering of my Exchanges, vvhich have been much incommodated by the failing of *Seignor Burlamachie*'s credit here, (though it ſtand vvell in other places) by a trick that vvas played him.

While I ſhall be at home, I vvill challenge nothing from His Majeſties Exchequer, though perchance I ſhall bring ſome obſervations, not altogether

gether unprofitable, as a publick Inſtrument. I vvill likewiſe neither trouble His Majeſty as the Fountain, nor your Lordſhip as the Means, vvith any private ſuit, in the vvay of mine own fortune. For by His Royal Goodneſs, and by your favourable mediation, I am already abundantly ſatisfied in ſome Expectatives, (as marks of His Grace, and of your Patronage) vvhich have not only exceeded my merits, but even quieted mine appetites. Only thus much I humbly crave, That by His Majeſties toleration of my vveakneſſes, I may ſtill retain this charge, and live upon his ſervice, vvithout farther burden unto him, becauſe I ſee no man haſty at home, to die for my benefit.

1619.

A Report of my Negotiation in Germany, *and of ſome Particularities occurring in my Journey.*

To my moſt Gracious Soveraign and Maſter.

I Came to *Munichen*, the Court of *Bavaria*, in the evening before the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, and in my company, the Duke *Joachimus Erneſtus* of *Holſtein*, vvho ſince the ceaſing of Arms in *Friuli*, had lived vvith me at *Venice*: vvhich I mention as a duty, having been recommended unto me, and to that State, by Your Majeſties ſpecial Letters, and in truth likewiſe by his own vvorthy diſpoſitions. Here vve thought only to have ſtolen a ſight, in ſome private vvindow, of the Proceſſion the next day, vvhere vve vvere told the Princes and vvhole Court

Court vvould be: But in the morning vve vvere prevented by the Duke *Maximilian*, vvho having gotten knowledge of our qualities, ſent a Baron of his Bed-Chamber vvith Coaches to conduct us to the Court; vvhich gracious ſurpriſal vve could not civilly reſiſt. At the Court vve vvere placed, by the Dukes own appointment, in a Gallery; where when we ſaw a more ſolemn and ſober Proceſſion, then I had beheld even at *Rome*, under the Popes eyes; as perhaps, all ſuperſtition is looſeſt at the fountain. In this Proceſſion, a little after the Duke and his Brother *Albertus*, went two young Sons of one of them, that were thrown out of the window at *Prage*, who ſince then have been foſtered in *Bavaria*: And from hence we took our firſt judgement of the affections of that Court. I cannot omit, that at this Solemnity were two *Jeſuites*; who otherwiſe in *Italy* do ſtudiouſly decline the familiarity of ſuch publick appearances, for preſervation of reſpect: At which when I did expreſs ſome wonder, I was told between jeſt and earneſt, that indeed the greater Fathers were more reſerved of their preſence; but theſe were only like Uſhers over the Seminary Boyes, to keep them in awe at this Shew.

This done, the Duke of *Holſtein* and my ſelf were led and lodged in ſeveral Quarters of the Palace: and before Dinner, the Duke *Maximilian* (though tyred with walking) ſent ſingly for me, and paſſed with me more then an hour in private and free diſcourſe: Falling into it, with as ſerious proteſtation as mine ears ever heard, that though he was bred in the *Roman* Faith, yet no Prince living did more honour and reverence the great vertues, and eminent wiſdome of the King my Maſter, to whom

he

he had the honour to be allied, both by marriage, and by his own deſcent; and therefore ſhould have thought it a diſgrace for him, to let me go that way, without offering me, after I had paſſed the *Alpes*, a little commodity of repoſe in that poor Houſe, as he was pleaſed to term it; being otherwiſe one of the moſt capable, magnificent, and regular Fabricks of Chriſtendome; and all of his own device and erection in five years. He told me beſides, how ſenſible he was of the honour which the Count *Palatine* had done him with a perſonal ſurpriſal; and how aſhamed, that the times had not yet permitted him to revenge that favour, which he had vowed to do with the firſt opportunity: And the rather, that he might invite Your Majeſties moſt vertuous Daughter (who hath filled theſe Countreys with her excellent fame) to come and take poſſeſſion in *Bavaria* of her Woods and Fields, and to kill all there that had either wings or feet. This was the Complemental part of his Speech. In the reſt, he bewailed the preſent appearance of unquietneſs in the Empire: He lamented likewiſe the ſituation of his own State, which made it hard for him to preſerve himſelf neutral, though he had ſtudied it. He ſpake of *Ferdinando's* perſon, kindly; of his fortune, doubtfully: of the *Bohemians*, with a cool temper; rather cenſuring the form of their proceeding, then the cauſe: of himſelf, with ſingular moderation, and without the leaſt diſcovery of any ambitious affections, though we found his Courtiers warm enough in their hopes.

After Dinner, he ſent for the Duke of *Holſtein*: And then came himſelf with his whole train to viſit me on that ſide where I was placed, (an honour done

done ſeldome before, as I heard, to any Ambaſſador) where he ſpent with me about half an hour, with new affirmations of his reverent reſpect towards Your Majeſty: As likewiſe, the morning following; when with much ado, we got leave to be gone. Which noble language he afterwards (as not contented with a verbal profeſſion) did proſecute in a Letter that I received from him on the way, which I reſerve to be ſhewn Your Majeſty.

This was my entertainment in the *Bavarian* Court, by a Prince (I am bound to ſay) every way good, but in that wherein he ſhould be beſt: of noble manner in his hoſpitality; of ſharp conceit, of great erudition; and both orderly and lovingly ſerved. Which Circumſtances I have thought it my part to ſet down the more particularly, for that, I am certainly informed of much jealouſie both taken and expreſſed by the Pope, at the Count *Palatine*'s reception in that Court; and more, for a Book written by his Chancellor, and publiſhed by the Dukes direct Command, (prefixed in the front thereof) in defence of *Ludovicus*, the *Bavarian* excommunicated Emperor: Which things conſidered, make his kindneſs to Your Majeſties Servant, and profeſſions towards Your Royal Perſon, more notable. Now to proceed:

At *Auguſta* I took language, that the Princes and States of the Union had deferred their Aſſembly ten dayes: which gave me opportunity to find them together at *Heilbrun*, whom I ſhould have miſſed at their own homes. And for due reſpect, I gave the Count *Palatine* notice of my intent to be there, by a Gentleman expreſly ſent. Of what I did in *Auguſta* for Your Majeſties ſervice, I bring with

with me the Accompt. Being arrived at *Heilbrun*, the day after the first sitting of the Princes, I repaired immediately to the Count *Palatine*, as Director, not only of the Union; but likewise of me; (for so I told him was Your Majesties Will:) who after he had spoken with his Associates, did order the form of my proceeding in this manner: With himself, I was to treat *in Individuo*, both for respect of privacy, being Your Majesties Son-in-Law, and of Dignity, being then *Provisor* of the Empire, as his right style is, and not *Vicar*. To the four Princes, I went joyntly; they agreeing upon a room where they would assemble, and sending for me their Coaches and Courtiers; namely, the Marques of *Anspach*, (who hath the precedency, as an Electoral branch) the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Marques of *Baden*, and the Prince *Christianus* of *Anhalt*, respondent for his own House: The Landgrave *Maurice* of *Hassia* was not there, but voiced to be sick. The Marques of *Brandenburg* was out of the Empire in *Prussia*, and his Son in the Low Provinces. The Representants of the three United Cities, *Nurenburg*, *Strasburg*, and *Ulm*, (which direct the meaner Towns) were to come all joyntly (as they did) to my Lodging. The Count *Palatine* met me at the Stair-head; and did render me the visitation, where I lay, in person: The Princes came all joyntly down into the very Street, to take me from my Coach; and in like manner brought me down again unto it; and did afterwards visit me all together: The Marques of *Anspach* then presenting unto me their Answer in writing, with all due commemoration of their obligations to Your Majesty. The Representants of the Cities did present their Answer verbally at my Lodg-

Lodging by the *Syndic* of *Strasburg*, with no leſs zeal and devotion then the Princes had done. And this was the formal part, full of all juſt reſpect that could be expreſſed in that place. Now touching the real part: When I had conferred with the Count *Palatine* your Majeſties ſcope in the main buſineſs, I found him in truth for himſelf exceeding forward; but for the other Princes and Towns he objected two difficulties: The one was, the preſent diſtractions of *Germany*, which made the Propoſition ſomewhat unſeaſonable. The other vvas, the differences between our Church and thoſe of the *Auguſtine* Confeſſion; vvhich though but few, yet perchance might a little hinder their concurrence with us in this excellent work: eſpecially the *Lutheran* Princes, being likely to do nothing without counſel of their Miniſters, and they being the paſſionateſt Men amongſt them. Theſe two objections conſidered, it was thought fit by the Count *Palatine*, (into whoſe hands I had delivered my ſelf) after deliberation vvith his own Counſellors, that I ſhould at this time only diſpoſe the other Princes, and Repreſentants of Cities, in your Majeſties Name, towards a concurrence, with apt lenitives and probabilities; and that I ſhould endeavor, by your Majeſties Chriſtian perſwaſion, to remove all aſperity that might impeach it, leaving a more particular proſecution thereof till the noiſe of the Empire were ſettled: in which mean while, many things might be further thought on to advance this purpoſe, and be conferred afterwards by Letters.

Hereupon I framed my Speech to the Princes in the manner following.

I told them, that I brought thither two ſorts of Commiſſions, The one from the Duke and Se-

nate of *Venice*, *ſub fide tacita*, which I preſented in writing, containing a profeſſion of much good will from that State towards them, and a clear inclination to a ſtreighter correſpondence with them: In contemplation of whom, the Republick had reſolved not to permit the tranſport of any ſuccours croſs their Gulf into *Auſtria*, for the further troubling of *Germany*. This vvas the ſubſtance of that I brought under ſilent confidence, without any other credit then mine own honeſty might bear; vvhich had been delivered unto me by order of Senate, whom I acquainted thus far, that I vvould take home-wards the vvay of *Germany*. Wherein I craved from the Princes and the reſt ſome taſte of their inclinations, that theſe fair offers might be farther proſecuted by your Majeſties mediation, vvhom I knevv much to deſire the further ſtrengthning of this Body with good Amities.

My other Commiſſion vvas (as I ſaid) from mine own Royal Maſter, from vvhom I brought Letters of his confidence unto them; after preſentation vvhereof, and all other due premiſes, I told them,

That your Majeſty having long and deeply conſidered the corruptions that have grown in your own Kingdoms, and in the States of your Confederates and Friends, by the ſecret practices of *Jeſuits*, did finally obſerve but one only cauſe of this creeping miſchief, and but one onely remedy; vvhich you had thought meet to communicate with them by an expreſs though a covered Legation, under the colour of my return homewards. The cauſe of the ſaid evils vvas, that vve had left the Pope at too much eaſe in his own Provinces; the remedy would be, to cut him out ſo much work

at

at home, as ſhould force him to gather his thoughts about himſelf, and in concluſion to revoke his Emiſſaries for the maintaining of *Italy*. To do this, there vvere but four means:

1. By the advantage of Arms in time of Action.
2. By open Preaching.
3. By diſperſion of Books.
4. By ſecret Semination.

For the firſt, it vvas true, that the late neceſſity of calling *French* (among vvhom there vvere many of our Religion) into *Piedmont*, and the *Dutch*, *Flemiſh*, and *Engliſh* into *Friuli*, had done ſome good by freedom of converſation, all Inquiſition ceaſing at ſuch times: But this violent vvay muſt be left to further occaſion.

For the ſecond, although there had been for one vvhole Lent publick preaching againſt the *Roman* doctrine in *Venice*; yet that Liberty and the Popes Excommunication did ceaſe together, and muſt ſo abide till nevv opportunity.

For the third, I acquainted them hovv greedy the *Italians* vvere of our Treatiſes in matter of Controverſie, and of divers ways that had been uſed both to excite, and to ſatisfie that curioſity, both by the vvorks of the Arch biſhop of *Spalato*, ſince his retirement into your Majeſties protection; and of a Diſcourſe that vvas ready to come abroad, vvherein ſhould be diſcovered by a great intelligent man, even of their own breeding, all the Practices of the Councel of *Trent*, out of the Original Regiſters and ſecret Papers; vvherein your Majeſty had a hand, for the benefit of the Chriſtian World.

For the fourth and laſt vvay, of ſecret Semination, vvherein vve had been hitherto vvholly defi-

cient and asleep: This I said vvas the particular scope of my present charge.

In this your Majesty did exhort them by all fervent perswasion to joyn vvith you their counsels and cares, their diligence and powers, according to such vvays as should be hereafter propounded either by your Majesty to them, or conceived amongst themselves. Whereunto your Majesty had been stirred, first by the zeal of Gods glory; next, by a Religious shame and indignation, to see Superstition more active then the Truth: Thirdly, by the instance of divers well-affected Persons, both vvithin the Body of *Italy*, and in the Confines thereof. And lastly, by the opportunity vvhich the present time it self did yield unto it: vvhich I did particularly remonstrate unto them; but being matter of secrecy, I vvill keep it in my pen till I arrive vvith your Majesty.

After vvhich, I concluded vvith your Majesties most loving and Christian perswasions unto them (vvhich they could not refuse, coming from such a Friend) to lay aside our own small differences, to suppress the heat of passionate Divines by Civil Authority, and to joyn together against the common Adversary of our Churches and States.

And because the free passage into *Italy* vvas a point much importing the present purpose, as likewise in other respects very considerable, your Majesty did intreat them to spend their earnest intercession by a common Letter to the Cantons of *Zurick* and *Bern*, That they vvould endeavor by all means possible (as being incomparably the fittest Mediators) to re-establish the League between the *Venetians* and the *Grisons*; to vvhich both parties vvere vvell inclining, but there vvanted a third

to

to break the business, and to remove the scruple of who shall begin, which had hitherto hindred the effect.

This was my poor exposition of Your Commands: whereof I thought it my duty to render Your Majesty this preambulatory Accompt, for Your ease at mine arrival, and for mine own discharge: bringing with me, the Letters and Answers of the Princes, as I hope, to Your Majesties full contentment.

I will conclude with my most humble thanks unto Your Royal Goodness, for this Imployment above all other: And with my prayers to God, that the weakness of the Instrument, may not prejudice the excellent intention of the Master and Director.

1620.

Instructions to Our trusty and well-beloved Servant Henry Wotton *Knight, at his imployment about the Affairs of* Germany, *to the Emperour* Ferdinand, *to Our Dear Son-in-Law* Frederick *the Prince Elector,* JAME'S. *and Count Palatine of* Rhene, *&c. to the Princes of the Union in Body, or to their Sub-director in place of Our said Son-in-Law; And to other Princes and States, as the Duke of* Saxony, Bavaria; *and upon occasion, as his particular Letters of Credence shall direct him.*

YOu are to know, that this your imployment is, for the present, meerly exploratory and provisional, to give Us a clear and distinct Accompt of

the preſent Affairs, both how they ſtand at your arrival there, (being every day changeable) and how they incline in the future; and particularly, to ſound the affections, and the matter, how far they be capable of any reaſonable meaſure of agreement; that from thence We may take judgement, whether it ſhall be fit for Us to adde any others unto you in a main Treaty, with ſafety of Our Honour, and benefit of the Cauſe; or to ſend others in your room, and to releaſe you from that buſineſs, to your ordinary Reſidence at *Venice*. Wherein We are contented to defer thus much to your diſcretion; that if you ſhall find things deſperate, and the Emperours Party abſolutely victorious, you may then, after a Currier diſpatched unto Us with advertiſement of all circumſtances, take your way to *Venice*: If, otherwiſe, you ſhall find the Forces on both ſides to ſtand within ſuch terms of equality, as the event is like in probability to continue dubious, and uncertain, you ſhall then attend the iſſue, till the blow ſhall be ſtrucken; and upon all important variations of occurrences, you ſhall ſignifie the ſame unto Us.

2. According to this ſcope of your imployment; you ſhall hold with all thoſe Princes, from the higheſt to the meaneſt, and from thoſe that are moſt remote in reſpect, to thoſe that are neareſt unto Us in nature and Alliance, the ſame language; aſſuring them all, that We conſtantly continue in Our own Principles, that is, in firſt deſiring the quiet of Chriſtendome, and particularly of thoſe parts, by all poſſible means, wherein We have formerly expreſſed by a noble Ambaſſage of one of Our neareſt Servants, before Our Brother the *French* King did enter into it, and before Our Selves

Selves ſhall be drawn to any other reſolution; which We thought meet to make publickly known, both by Our ſaid former Ambaſſador the Vicount *Doncaſter*, and now by you; leaving the reſt to God and time.

3. Touching your addreſs, firſt or ſecond, to one part or other, We leave it to your diſcretion upon the place, when you have conſulted with the Princes of the Union in general, or with their Sub-director for the time, whither you may beſt direct your ſelf; whom you ſhall pray in Our Name to aſſiſt you therein with their beſt advice: as likewiſe in all things elſe concerning the preſent Affairs: That after this exploration of the buſineſs, being much altered ſince our firſt Ambaſſage, We may know what it ſhall be fit for Us further to direct.

4. Whereas We are informed, that the Ambaſſadors of Our Brother the *French* King, have Inſtructions to propound two things, 1. A Surceaſance of Arms, 2. An Imperial Diet; you ſhall ſignifie, that in the firſt of theſe motions We mainly concur with Him; and in the other, ſo far as by the directions of Our Dear Son-in-Law you ſhall find convenient for the publick good, and His own.

5. Touching the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and any other Prince not compriſed within the Union, you ſhall deſire them heartily in Our Name to joyn with Us for the common tranquillity, that things may not paſs to a further irritation of thoſe Princes and States, and particularly of Our Selves, which otherwiſe profeſs Pacifical and Chriſtian ends: fortifying your exhortation therein with the beſt reaſons that you can collect out of the preſent Affairs, as they ſhall appear unto you.

6. To all Princes whom it may any way concern, you shall make it known, that in the Election of Our Son-in-Law to the Crown of *Bohemia*, We had no part by any precedent Counsel or practice; which We affirm in the faith and truth of a Christian Prince: And are likewise informed of his own clearness therein, by vehement affirmations, and by most probable Circumstances.

A Copy of my Dispatch to the King, from Vienna, Septemb. 7. 1620.

May it please my most Gracious Soveraign,

IF Your Majesty, since my last Accompt from *Augusta*, of what I had handled with the Duke of *Lorein*, and *Wirtenberg*, with the Arch-duke *Leopold*, and with the Communities of *Strasburg* and *Ulm*; shall have expected to hear before now, what I do in this place, the obligation of Your own goodness, and bounties towards me, besides the conscience of my charge and duty, may in the mean while have assured Your Majesty, that no diligence or fidelity on my part hath been wanting in the pursuit of Your Commands and Christian ends, as I hope shall appear by this Dispatch: Wherein first, It may please Your Majesty to understand, that I have been ten dayes here in *Vienna*, after I had been four whole dayes stayed by the Emperour at *Closter-Nyberg* on the *Danuby*, not above a *Dutch* mile or little more from this Town, whilst a House, and all other things were preparing for my reception: Which course was likewise held with the *French* Ambassadors in the same measure.

During

During vvhich time of my stay, the Emperour sent me, some Provisions, and vvithal the young Baron of *Harach* to conduct me hither, and here continually to assist me, for procurement of my Audiences, or any other conveniences, being a Gentleman of the Emperours Bed-chamber, twice heretofore employed in foreign Ambassages, Son-in-lavv to the Count *Eckemberg*, the Emperors Favorite, and Son to the next of his Counsellors in grace and credit; though the young Baron of *Mersberg*, Captain of his Guard, vvas sent to the *French*, yet I perceive in the choice of this other Gentleman, an equality of respect towards your Majesty vvas used.

An hour after my arrival here, he sent to bid me vvelcome the Count of *Mecaw*, heretofore Lord Chamberlaine to the Emperour *Matthias*, and a Counsellor to this, *in tertiis quartisve*. I am placed near to the Court, in the House of the Baron *de Gabriana*, vvith rich furniture and good attendance, and hitherto at the Emperors charge, vvhich vvithin a vvhile must cease, of vvhich I have given the Reason in my Letter to Mr. Secretary *Nanton*. In the mean time I must profess unto your Majesty, that no circumstance of due regard to the Honour of your Name hath been here omitted, but all done vvith unexpected freedom; in so much as to accompany me at my Table, are sent and admitted Gentlemen of both Religions, and of the best degree, vvhich in the meaner Courts of *Germany* I have noted to pass vvith more restraint. Thus much concerning my Reception, vvhich is the formal part.

Novv before I pass unto the material, it is a piece of curiosity to tell unto your Majesty, vvhat discords I here finde amongst the publick Instruments,

ments, which seem somewhat considerable: The *French* Ambassadours have been here about seven weeks, and to this hour are unvisited by the *Spanish* (though close adjoyning them) upon a meagre punctuality; for thus it standeth, The *French* arrived on the *Munday* at night; the *Spaniard* sent immediately to welcome them his Secretary, *ex forma*. They have Audience the next morning following: that passed, the Count *Ognate* demands leave to visit them in the afternoon; they desire to be excused, being a day of ordinary dispatch. The excuse is accepted; but because they did not afterwards, without a second demand, send him word that they would be at leisure, *incrassatus est sanguis*, on the *Spanish* side. A much deeper and incurable case is fallen out betwixt the *French* and the Extraordinary Ambassador of *Parma*, who, after the *French* sent first unto him, as they say, (though he affirms it was the *Spaniard*) did yet visit the *Spaniard* before them belike, according to the method of his devotion, and proximity to his Master, or of Authority in this Court: howsoever, hereupon the Duke of *Angolesme* assigned the same Ambassadour a day to visit him, and when he came *alla buona*, he shut his Gates upon him: Which is here generally the worse interpreted, because he is a Bishop, seeming an affront to both his qualifications. In such a touchy time as this, I had almost had my share; to whom, after the three *French* Ambassadors had sent their three Secretaries (for prevention of the *Spaniard*) as far as *Cloyster Newbury*, where I made my stop: they were likewise the first here that sent to visit me, but came all three together, and with them Monsieur *de Beaugie* the Ordinary Agent: Whereupon fell a little disputation

ration between us, Whether viſits of reſpect between Repreſentants of equality, being received *in ſpecie*, ſhould be paid *in individuo?* vvhich ſeemed unto me no good complemental *Logick*: but finding afterwards, firſt, that their Commiſſions vvere the ſame; then, that the Emperor had ſent to their ſeveral Lodgings; and the Popes *Nuncio*, though viſited in groſs, had viſited them apart, I made an end of this ſcruple: yet not before a promiſe, that if your Majeſty ſhould ſend more Ambaſſadors hither, they vvill proceed *a la pareille* vvith them: having gained thus much by this ſmall debate, that perchance they think me not over-punctual, nor altogether ſupine. I have likewiſe received and rendered to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador all due formalities, and from all other Ambaſſadors and Agents, except the Popes, and the Duke of *Parma*'s, vvhoſe habits make us incommiſcible. Of the reſt I need not ſpeak at all; of the *French* and *Spaniſh* I vvill preſume to ſpeak my opinion, as far as may conduce to the main. I find the *French* ſurely of good intention towards a peace here, but not haſty either to believe in truth that the Crowns of *Hungaria* or *Bohemia* vvere Hereditary. Here, at their firſt coming, they had more credit (as I receive from a good hand) then they ſeem to have novv; vvhich is thought to proceed from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, vvho in this Court is not only the Supream Counſellor, but hath in truth a *Dictatoriam poteſtatem*, as the *French* find; the reaſon being not very obſcure: for vvhen I put in the *major*, that the Emperors reſolutions depend upon neceſſities; and in the *minor*, that his neceſſities depend upon *Spain*, I think I may ſpare the concluſion. Thus ſtand the publick Miniſters here, and thus they

ſtand

ſtand one vvith another; vvhich I thought fit to ſet down, becauſe it hath ſome influence into the general buſineſs.

Novv to proceed to the ſcope of my employment in matter of ſubſtance. I had Audience of the Emperor (as the *French*) the ſecond day after my arrival, vvhere vvhat I ſaid, vvill beſt appear to your Majeſty out of the Memorial, vvhich I aftervvards [ſent] unto him, at his own requiſition, here following vvord for vvord, as I have tranſlated it out of the *Italian*, in vvhich language the Emperor treateth moſt vvillingly.

The Propoſition of Henry Wotton *Knight, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *delivered in the Name of his Sovereign Lord the King with all real intention to his Sacred Imperial Majeſty, the* 23 *of* Auguſt, ſtylo vet. *did contain four points.*

FIrſt, That his Imperial Majeſty would be pleaſed to make known his inclination towards a ſincere Treaty upon the preſent Motions.

Secondly, That it will pleaſe him by one or two, or more, to inform the ſaid Ambaſſador of all the fundamental Arguments in the merit of the Cauſe, which ſhall be moſt faithfully repreſented by him to the King his Maſter.

Thirdly, Either his Imperial Majeſty vvill refuſe, or agree to enter into Treaty: In the firſt caſe, It vvere vain for Repreſentants of Princes of good intentions, to ſpend further the Reputation of their Maſters. In the ſecond, His Majeſty of *Great Britain* doth think it moſt convenient, that both the Parties, together with their Confederates, be

be contented to condeſcend to a ceſſation of Arms for ſome competent time; leſt vvhile their Reconcilements vvere in Treaty, their paſſions be more exaſperated then before.

Fourthly, That for the furthering of their Reconcilement, His Imperial Majeſty would be pleaſed to free the paſſages of Curriers from *Vienna* to *Prague*; vvhich ſhall be procured likewiſe on the other ſide.

Beſides theſe ſubſtantial points, the ſaid Ambaſſador did touch three Conſiderations about the Perſon of His Soveraign Lord the King, which did render Him with His Imperial Majeſty of indubitable credit, although intereſſed by ſo ſtrait Bonds in the contrary ſide.

Firſt, His Majeſties clearneſs in the beginning of theſe Motions:

Secondly, His Neutrality in the progreſs thereof:

Thirdly, His Equity in the preſent.

Touching the firſt point, the Ambaſſador declared in His Majeſties Name, with high and holy affirmations, that He had had in Election of His Son-in-Law to the Crown of *Bohemia*, no participation of Counſel, or fore-knowledge. VVhich His Majeſty did not only affirm for Himſelf; but as indubitably in the Perſon of His Son-in Law, that he had no way fore-practiſed that Election.

For the ſecond point, of Neutrality, the Ambaſſador ſaid, that His Majeſty had not yet given the Title of *King* to His Son-in-Law, or of *Queen* to His Daughter, in any Letter either publick or private; nor had permitted the ſame Title, in any Sermons, within His Kingdomes.

As for the third point, of Equity, the Ambaſſador

dor ſhewed moſt evidently, the great moderation and æquanimity of the King his Maſter, in not having ſetled any firm judgement touching the merit of the Cauſe, upon information from that ſide vvherein His Majeſty is moſt intereſſed, vvithout firſt requiring farther knowledge from the Emperor himſelf by an expreſs Miniſter.

This vvas the Memorial of my Propoſition.

Four days after, the Emperor ſends me vvord, that his Anſwer vvas ready; giving me my choice, vvhether I vvould receive it from himſelf, or elſe from the Baron of *Eckemberg* his Principal Counſellor; and, vvhether verbally, or in vvriting, or both. In this gracious option, I took hold of the vvriting, becauſe *ſcripta manent:* and vviſhed I might have it from the Baron, vvithout the Emperors farther trouble, till from it might riſe ſome nevv occaſion. To the Baron I vvas called two days after; vvhom I found infirmer of his feet then of his head; for in truth he is a Gentleman of ſtrong conceit, and fair delivery, though (as moſt of the Court are) tainted vvith the *Jeſuit*. From him I received (beſides complements, and many thanks, for the honour that your Majeſty had done his Maſter; and vehement proteſtation of intire belief in your Chriſtian intentions at the preſent, and of your former clearneſs) the Paper that cometh herewith, indorſed, *Contenta Reſolutionis Cæſareæ data Nobiliſſimo Legato ſereniſſimi Regis Magnæ Brittanniæ.* In delivery whereof, the Baron ſeeming much to inſiſt upon the perſons [to] whom the Emperour had formerly been content to commit the buſineſs: as firſt, to the four Interpoſers, whereof the Count *Palatine* himſelf was one; then to the whole Electoral Colledge, even after ſuffi-

ſufficient offence to diſtaſt him from the *Bohemians*, who would have hindred his Election at *Francfort*; I ſay, by theſe recapitulations perchance ſilently inferring, that the *German* Princes were the propereſt Intervenients: I was moved to tell him, that I knew, Your Majeſty in this caſe was more ambitious of the good, then of the glory; and if Your worthier Servants at *Prague*, and I here, co-operating with the *French*, could prepare the matter, as it were *in Chylo*, for a fuller concoction hereafter by more hands, we ſhould think our ſelves very happy: With which reply he ſeemed extreamly pleaſed.

To the third point, about a Ceſſation, he ſpake ſomewhat more glorioufly, then we here ſee cauſe; that things were now too far run on, the Emperours preparations being made, and his friends in motion: wherein he gave a touch (though more, I think, then he could then ſay) upon *Saxony*: he added likewiſe, that no doubt the Count *Palatine* was as forward with his powers, and Confederates, naming *Bethlem Gabor*, and perchance, ſaid he, by his means the *Turk*. I replied (as I had done before to the Emperour himſelf) that the event of Arms was uncertain; and pittyfull to conceive, what deſperation might breed: But in the mean time, I had heard wiſe men of opinion, that the Count *Palatine* had done the Emperour no d ſ. pleaſure in accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*, laid upon him by thoſe, which peradventure, might otherwiſe have placed it on a worſe neighbour to theſe Provinces. To which truth the Emperour (when I ſaid it) nor himſelf replied any thing: and upon my conſcience, ſo they think.

To the laſt, about freeing the Paſſage, he under-

ſtood

ſtood me too largely, as if I had meant the re-eſtabliſhment of a Current Poſt, which round about this place is every where broken: but he hath granted his ſafe Conduct, upon occaſion, as far as he is able; though *ea conditione*, as Your Majeſty ſees in his written Anſwer, *ut non alias, quam dicti Domini Legati literas deferant.* The only point of jealouſie that I have met with ſince my coming.

To the ſecond, which I make the laſt, becauſe I have moſt to ſay upon it, he told me, that the Emperour would ſend to my Lodging ſome Perſons of dignity, and knowledge, to inform me in that Cauſe. As he did, the day after: namely, the Baron *Pople*, Great Chancellour of *Bohemia*, the Baron of *Straulendorf*, Chief Preſident of the Aulical Counſel, *Der Here Moſtitz*, *Conſiliarius Aulicus*; the firſt a *Bohemian*, the other two *Germans*: of whoſe perſons I ſhall afterwards inform Your Majeſty. But to proceed: The Errand, delivered by the Great Chancellour, conſiſted for the moſt part of things I knew were often publiſhed already, which I ſhall the leſs care for to repeat, becauſe Your Majeſty received lately the ſubſtance thereof, under the title of, —— *ex Conſtitutionibus & Privilegiis*, &c. conſigned to me by the ſaid Deputies; and likewiſe the ſame again more clearly ſet down and more fully expreſſed by a new Author, as yet unknown, a Book the Emperour himſelf ſent me, the day after this Conference, to be conveyed unto Your Majeſty. Two things they urged with much vehemency: [Firſt,] certain Letters, both from the *Bohemian* [Directors.] and which is more, from all the States of *Hungary*, with pendent Seals; wherein they call this Emperour [*King*] fifteen moneths after they had choſen him,

him, and yet the Chancellor having spoken nothing in all that time, they afterwards pretended that the Election was null. They shewed likewise an Original Letter from the Count *Palatine* himself, dated at *Hidelberg April* 23. 1619. *tempore Vicariatus*, to the now Emperor, as King of *Bohemia*, both in the Subscription, and the Superscription. The second urged point was, that neither the *Silesians*, nor the *Moravians*, which concurred in the Election of the Count *Palatine*, had any power to do it at that time, but that it was approved at their return home, *ex post facto*. Lastly, all objections made against *Ferdinando*, in point of Regiment, or Intrusion during the life of the Emperor *Matthias*, they are contented, for ought I see, to bestow upon *Matthias* himself.

This is the substance of a long Conference, beautifully interlarded with divers praises of the Emperors good nature; which I think truly are due unto him, if he be considered in his own capacity: but these Orators could give it no credit, being, as I hear, the greatest inflamers of all this business, and principally the principallest of them; a man saved at the time of the *defenestration*, *dum regnabat rosa*, only by being here.

This is a faithful Relation of all that hath hitherto passed between the Emperor, or his Servants, and me in this place; wherein your Majesty sees, that I have obtained two things: First, a freedom to propound, and next a freedom to send: whereupon the *French* Ambassadors, and my self, have this very day accorded to send joyntly to *Prague*, for there we must begin, even in point of civility. This is but an exploratory, and pretentative purpose between us; about the form whereof, and the

matter, we ſhall conſult to morrow: and your Majeſty immediately upon the return of our Meſſengers from thence, and ſome feeling of the Emperor here, ſhall have knowledge of all by another expreſs Currier.

Septemb. 23. 1620.

Duplicate of Secretary Nantons *Letters.*

My Lord Ambaſſador,

HIs Majeſty hath commanded me to make you this ſhort Anſwer to your fair and well-digeſted Relation ſent by *Ballard.*

1. That He allows very well, and is throughly ſatisfied with the good endeavors you have uſed with the Emperor.

2. That He would have you give thanks to His Imperial Majeſty, for the good reſpect ſhewed to His Majeſty in your Perſon, being His Ambaſſador; which we conceive, by your Lordſhips Letters, to have been every way equal at leaſt, if not beyond thoſe demonſtrations that have been afforded the *French*; of which we have received other informations out of *France*, that they have no more then anſwered their expectations.

3. That your Lordſhip can do no better Service to Chriſt, and to his Majeſty, then to open any fair way to a Treaty. *Macte, ergo, & quam naſtus es ſpartam exorna.* You have begun well, wherein you have already *facli pluſquam dimidium:* I know your own underſtanding and judgment to be ſuch, and your zeal to the Publick, and to our Great Maſters Service, that you will need neither encourage-

couragement, nor further directions for the main, then thoſe you carried along with you:

That you are to deal effectually with the Emperor, not to proceed too haſtily to the publiſhing of the *Banne*, ſeeing that would be to deliver over the Patrimony of His Majeſties Children unto Strangers; which were an unkinde requital of His Majeſties Princely, ſincere, and moderate intentions and proceedings toward him; and muſt of neceſſity intereſt and imbarque His Majeſty in the defence of His Childrens inheritance; which His Majeſty hopes the Emperor will take into his adviſed and ſerious conſideration.

This is all I have to recommend unto you for the preſent, as from His Majeſty: for my ſelf, I promiſe it my ſelf from you, that you are reſolved I am and will remain

Whitehal *Sept.* 23. 1620. *Your Lordſhips moſt aſſuredly to do you ſervice.*

Septemb. 1620.

The Copy of my Letter written to His Majeſties Ambaſſadors at Prague.

S. P.

I Do addreſs the preſent unto your Lordſhips, or in your abſence to Sir *Francis Netherſole*, by this Gentleman Mr. *Walter Waller*, coming in company of Monſieur *de Sigonie*, whom the *French* Ambaſſadors, Duke *d'Angoleſme*, Monſieur *de Bethunes*, and Monſieur *de Preaux*, do conjoyn with me in this Diſpatch; the ſcope whereof I cannot well ſet down, without firſt telling what doth lead it. I have been here almoſt a fortnight, well received

with all imaginable circumstances due to the honour of our Gracious Master. My proposition to the Emperor did consist of these four points:

1. That it would please him to make known his inclination towards a sincere Treaty upon the present Motions.

2. That he would be likewise pleased to instruct me by one, or two, or more Persons, of choice and knowledge, in all the fundamental Arguments touching the merit of the Cause; promising to represent them faithfully to the King my Master.

3. To condescend to a cessation of Arms for some competent time, least while the Reconcilement is in Treaty, the passions be more and more exasperated.

4. That for the furtherance of these good intentions, the Emperor will be pleased to grant Passports for Curriers from *Vienna* towards *Prague*, upon all occasions where his Armies lie.

Of these, he hath yielded to the first and last; namely a freedom to treat (whereof I made some doubt) and a freedom to send; whereupon the *French* Ambassadours and my self have joyntly formed this present Dispatch; to this end, that the Elector *Palatine* may likewise by your Lordships, or by his Majesties Agent there, be drawn as far as we have disposed the Emperor in the first and last points of my Proposition; for to this hour the Prince *Christian* of *Anhalt* (though the *French* Ambassadors before my coming had written and expresly sent unto him) hath given no Answer, by which conjecture may be made, whether the foresaid Elector will treat or no, or whether the *Bohemians* will suffer it. Now because if I should end here, so much only as I have hitherto said,

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would ſcantly import the price of the carriage, we have thought fit (I ſpeak ſtill plurally in the names of the *French* and my ſelf) to acquaint your Lordſhips, and Sir *Francis Netherſole*, with ſome ways that have been conceived for the effecting of our Maſters good intentions about the Publick repoſe.

It hath been firſt thought very expedient, that both parties were drawn to remit theſe great differences to a Diet at *Regensburg* of *German* Princes, with intervention of foreign Ambaſſadors.

Next, ſome have gone ſo far (and this both the *French* and my ſelf profeſs to have taken up on the way, even amongſt the Friends of the Elector) as to project a form of Agreement upon ſome ſuch Articles as theſe that follow.

1. That the Elector *Palatine* be contented to relinquiſh the title and poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

2. That the Emperor *Ferdinando*, according to the firſt Election of the *Bohemians*, and by virtue thereof ſhall enjoy the entire profits and title of the ſaid Crown, during his natural life.

3. That after the deceaſe of the ſaid Emperor, it ſhall be free for the *Bohemians* to chuſe what King they will, and much more to admit him whom they have deſigned, namely the *Palatine* Heir apparent.

4. That for aſſuring the immunities of that People, and future freedom in the exerciſe of both Religions, the Emperor be contented to commit the Regiment of the ſaid Kingdom to the Naturals thereof.

5. That of Perſons on each ſide baniſhed, whether Spiritual or Civil, nothing be ſaid till a full agreement about the reſt. Concerning theſe things

(I mean as well the Diet as the project) the *French* Ambaſſadours and my ſelf do joyntly pray your Lordſhips, or in your abſence Sir *Francis Nethersole*, by your wiſdoms to ſound the inclinations of that place where you are, that accordingly we may here, upon your Anſwer, likewiſe feel the Emperor (with whom it were ill manners to begin.) Not fixing our conceits upon this which hath now been repreſented, but leaving it as a Bears whelp, which may be licked into a better form; and remaining here both willing and deſirous to receive either this better poliſhed, or ſome new conception from your Lordſhips, that we may drive to the wiſhed end: Of all which an account hath been given from hence to our Sovereign Maſter, that his high and Chriſtian wiſdom may approve, or alter what it ſhall pleaſe him. And ſo commending to Almighty God, the God of Peace and Love, your Lordſhips and the Publick health, I humbly reſt,

At your Commandments,

Vienna. 1620. H. WOTTON.

Poſtſc. I have done Mr. *Dickenſon* (my Friend and Conſociate in the Treaty at *Santoan*) a great deal of wrong not to mention him in this Diſpatch, if he be with your Lordſhips, of which I was doubtful.

The Ambaſſadors Anſwer from Prague, *Octob.* 18. 1620.

Right Honourable,

SIr *Francis Nethersole* communicated unto us your Lordſhips of the 7th of *September St. vet.* the 9th preſent, the impediments of journeying, with the delaies

delaies we met with at *Dreſden*, having made our arrival ſo late here, that he had not only given overture to the buſineſs, but gained ſuch an Anſwer, as the preſent conſtitution of the ſtate of affairs, and affections of parties would admit: for which we refer you to his Relation to whoſe endeavors the honour is due. You will eaſily believe, that we would give all the force we could to ſecond this great good work, ſo piouſly intended by our gracious Maſter, ſo requiſite for Chriſtendom, and ſo needful to draw our Maſters dear Son-in-law, and his bleſſed Lady, out of the extream difficulties they are in, and, in this work, to be joyned with your wiſdom and dexterity. Here you will find ready affections to Peace, to treat, to admit the ways and conveniencies to Treaty, if a ceſſation of Arms may be accorded: but the difficulty lies to find the *medium*. The Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Appurtinances, are the very queſtion; and they tell you here, that the granting of a diſpoſition thereof, is to overthrow their Priviledges, Immunities, and Rights: So to leave the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and to keep it, is to reconcile *Yea* and *No*. Yet our earneſt longing being to ſee a good end of our gracious Maſters bleſſed deſigns, we cannot but think of ways to keep on foot the contentment of Traffick with you, and communicate them, though but raw indigeſted conceptions of our own, to be produced further, if your judgement and hope warrant them. This granted, that both Parties have affection to Treat, doth warrant the freedom of acceſs to the Inſtruments. Whereupon we propound as followeth: That whereas His Majeſties Son-in-law (for ought we can find) is reſolute to hold both the Title and

Poſſeſſion of this Kingdom, it may be adviſed, whether the Emperor may be drawn to content himſelf with the Title, and ſuch a compenſation by a yearly proportion of Money, as competent and equal Arbitrators ſhall judge to be fit. Hereto may be added, the quitting of *Auſtria* on the one part, and reſtitution of the *Palatinate* on the other. As for baniſhed Men on both ſides, and particular Rights, both Civil and Criminal, the ſame Arbitrators may deal therein according to equity. Having beſides Sir *Francis Netherſale*'s faithful endeavors, ſounded with our beſt lines, and we cannot ſay found the depth, but a kind of ſcantling, vve offer you to meaſure, vvhether this heat of War and Confuſion may by ſuch a Chanel be drawn to a peaceable Haven; the perfect good ſteering of vvhich, vve preſent to your great practice in affairs of conſequence, to the good guidance vvhereof, vve offer all our powers and endeavors, vvhile they may be of uſe; but if vve find no other ground of hope here then vve have hitherto, vve are reſolved to dravv towards home; and in that caſe, your Lordſhip finding occaſion, may continue your addreſſes to Sir *Francis Netherſole*, of vvhoſe careful correſpondence you may reſt aſſured. Wherewith vve reſt,

Your Lordſhips

From *Prague*, *October* 18. *St. vet.* 1620.

in all true affection to ſerve you,

Edw. Conwey. Rich. Weſton.

J. Dickenſon *Secr. aſſiſtant.*

Octob.

Octob. 1620.

Amico Veteri S. P.

ACcepi quas ad me Wormatia *dederas* Octobris 10. *quibus effuſiùs reſpondebo per unum ex meis quem iſthac in* Angliam *deſtinavi intra triduum.*

Jamdiu ſcis, legatos Gallicos *& me ſimul ſingulos Nobiles utriuſque Nationis cum totidem famulis in* Bohemiam *ablegaſſe, ad explorandam Coronati Electoris mentem ſuper eadem ferè Concordiæ formula, quam ipſemet mihi* Stutgardæ *injeceras, quamque commemorati legati, credo, etiam hauſerant ex eodem fonte. Ex noſtris Nobilibus* Gallus, *nomine* Sigonius, *ſolus rediit: Is* Anglum *in Oppidulo* Auſtriæ *ſuperioris (quod* Freyſtadt *vocant) reliquit ſub poteſtate morbi. Duo Famuli* Pragæ *periere ex Febre* Hungarica, *quæ perexiguo intervallo diſtat à peſte: Literæ intactæ pervenerunt, per quas incipio conjectari, quam operoſa res ſit circa quam ſudamus. Nemo te melius novit, quantulum legati valeant in turbatis temporibus. Igitur rectè videris, exuto Civili munere militare ſubiiſſe. Utcunque, benè ſperamus; & de eventu, qualiſcunque demum fuerit, te faciam brevi certiorem. Interim hoc ſcias velim, natos hic rumores per omnium ora, de magna* Bohemorum *ſtrage, ſuper* Sigonii Galli *reditu, tanquam ipſe id attuliſſet: quod profectò in hac Aula eſt familiaris ludus. Somniant quæ volunt; & cuicunque ex Caſtris advenienti aliquid affingunt; præcipuè paulò ante* Mercurii *aut* Sabbati *diem, quo hinc Curſores in omnes oras avolant; quia falſa impreſſio interdum cauſa eſt magnorum motuum.*

The

The Memorial Exhibited to his Imperial Majesty by Henry Wotton *Knight, Ambassadour Extraordinary from the King of* Great Brittain, *after his Audience of the* 17. *of* November, 1620.

27. *Styl. nov.* *Translated* ad verbum *from the* Italian.

1. THe said Ambassadour began with thanks in the King his Masters Name, for the good Reception he had found here, in all points of due respect to the honour of his Majesty whom he served.

2. After this, he said, that as his Majesty had to this hour conserved himself purely neutral in the Busines of *Bohemia*, so he would remain hereafter, till more liquid information then he had yet seen from either side, touching the merit of the cause; and would proceed with all real intention in the Christian Office of a Mediatour, without entring into those of a Judge, and much less of a Party.

3. That although his said Majesty was resolved to suspend his judgement, forasmuch as might concern the differences between the Emperour and *Bohemians*; yet he found himself tyed both by nature and by reason, not to leave the Patrimonial inheritance of his own descendents, that is, neither the inferiour nor superiour *Palatinate* in the hands of any alien Usurper: the said Patrimony being a thing seperate from the rest of the present Controversie, and so understood in the Treaty of *Ulm* by the common consent of the Lieutenants of the Union and the League.

4. That as his Majesty of *Great Brittain* would be unwillingly perswaded, without the Emperours own

own affirmation, that the Marqueſs *Spinola* was by his Order entred hoſtility into the lower *Palatinate*; ſo much leſs could he believe, that his ſaid Imperial Majeſty would lend any Authority *ex poſt facto* to ſo injuſt an intruſion, by way of proſcription, or otherwiſe; with which the moderate proceeding of his Majeſty in the whole progreſs of this Cauſe, from the very firſt motions, ſhould be ill recompenced.

Laſtly, The Ambaſſadour beſought his Imperial Majeſty, according to the declaration of his Will already paſſed, to condeſcend actually to a ſincere Treaty upon the *Bohemian* Buſineſs, to which the *French* Ambaſſadours and himſelf had already joyntly diſpoſed the other part.

A Copy of the Emperors Anſwer to my Audience, 28. Nov. 1620.

AD ea quæ Sereniſſimi Magnæ Britanniæ *Regis Legatus nuper, cùm ore tenus, tùm ſcripto propoſuit; Sacratiſſima Cæſarea, &* Hungariæ Bohemiæque *Majeſtas, Dominus noſter Clementiſſimus, benignè reſpondet, uti animum ſuum ad ſolidæ amicitiæ atque benevolentiæ ſtudia tum[a] ſerenitate ſua ſincerè continuanda proclivem jam tum ab initio Legationis ſuæ dicto Domino Legato declaravit, ita etiamnum eidem ſe propoſito firmiter inhærere.*

Ad negotium autem Bohemicum *quod attinet, in*

[a] 1. The Style of the Emperours Chancery when he treateth with Kings, is not *Majeſtas*, which he reſerveth for himſelf, but either *Serenitas*, or *Regia Dignitas*: This made him angry, when he heard that the

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French Ambaſſadours ſtyled *Bethlem Gabor*, *Sereniſſimum* : who on the other ſide, gave them leave to entitle him how they would, adding this Reaſon, That they were not Ambaſſadours which could make or unmake Kings.

atque aquitatem agnoſcere & obſervare ; eoque magis gratum habet, quod Affinitatem, & Genus, & Fœdera, Regio ſanè judicio, [b] *infra Conſcientiæ legem hactenus ſeſe locâſſe ſcripſerit. Optâſſet autem Majeſtas ſua* Cæſarea, *ut hoc ipſum tot auxiliaribus copiis è Serenitatis ſuæ Regnis atque Provinciis iniquiſſimæ cauſæ* [c] *ſubſidio miſſis, aut certè permiſſis, nequaquam Serenitas ſua dubium reddidiſſet : Sed potius Generum ſuum, non tantùm prudentiſſimis monitis, atque conſiliis, verùm etiam viribus ſubſtractis, ab iniqua cupiditate alienis ſe Regnis immiſcendi abſterruiſſet ; unde non alius quam optatus almæ pacis fructus, & ut Majeſtati ſuæ in* Bohemia, Palatino

quo Majeſtati ſuæ Cæſareæ *Regiæq ; non alia Controverſia eſt, quam quæ Principibus, cum ſubditis ſuis rebellibus ad obedientiæ metam reducendis eſſe ſolet ; certò ſibi perſuadet, Sereniſſimum Magnæ* Britanniæ *Regem, pro ſingulari ſua prudentia atq ; integritate evidentem, quæ pro Majeſtate ſua* Cæſarea *militat, cauſæ juſtitiam*

[b] 2. Of theſe words he taketh advantage, which were in your Majeſties Credentiall Letter delivered by me.

[c] 3. I wonder he ſhould touch this point, wherein I had cleared both the Arch-duke *Leopoldus* and the Emperour himſelf : namely, that the firſt ſubſidiary Troops ſent towards the *Palatinate*, were meerly Voluntaries, without Your Majeſties Contribution, and defenſively intended, before any noiſe of the Invaſion.

no *verò in Ditionibus, quas Majeſtatis* Cæſareæ, Sacriq; Romani *Imperii beneficio tenebat, res tranquilla perſiſterent, ſperari potuiſſet. Nunc ſi in Ditionibus propriis, quas à Suprema Majeſtate* Cæſarea, *Sacroq; Imperio, in feudum cum fidelitatis obſequio recognoſcere debebat, quaſque Dominus Legatus* [d] Patrimonium appellat, *pœnam temerarii ambitus contra Dominum & Imperatorem ſuum, Sereniſſimi Regis. Gener experitur, non habet quem culpet, præterquam quòd animo ſuo obſecundare, & intempeſtivis ſuorum conſiliis, quam prudentiſſimis Majeſtatis ſuæ* Ceſareæ, *Regum, Electorum & Principum, ipſiusq; Soceri ſui conſiliis deferre maluerit.*

Et ſanè nullus non iniquiſſimum æſtimabit, ſi tempeſtivè præcavere non liceret, ne Feuda & beneficia quæ à Supremo Monarcha fluunt, in propriam ſuam injuriam redundent: quod quidem Sereniſſimo Magnæ Britanniæ *Regi (cui perpetuam in Regnis ſuis pacem ex animo Majeſtas ſua* Cæſarea *precatur) uti rerum humanarum vices ſunt, tàm aliquando obeſſe poſſet, quemadmodum nunc ad injuſtam Generi cauſam colorandam prætenditur.*

Hinc itaque Dominus Legatus rationes haud obſcurè colliget, quibus permota Majeſtas ſua Cæſarea, *vigore Conſtitutionum Imperialium, ad turbatam Imperii pacem redin-*

[d] 4. In declaring Your Majeſties Will and determination from the beginning touching the *Palatinates*, if they ſhould be aſſailed, I told the Emperour, that though in the ſingle Buſineſs of *Bohemia* You had ſuſpended Your judgement till more liquid proofs; yet You found Your Self tyed, both by Nature and Reaſon, not to ſuffer the Patrimonial Inheritance of Your Own Deſcendents in the hands of an Alien Uſurper.

redintegrandam, & Inclytæ Domus ſuæ Jura vindicanda, Primarium Imperii Principem, & Patruelem ſuum chariſſimum, Archiducem Albertum *requiſiverit, à quo*

[c] *Marchio* Spinola *cum florente exercitu, Literis Majeſtatis ſuæ* Cæſareæ *Patentibus munitus, adverſus eum ſubmiſſus, qui nulla injuria laceſſitus, rebellibus ſubditis, infami & abominando quibuſcunq; Regibus & Principibus exemplo, patrocinari, & Regiæ Imperatoris atque Domini ſui Coronæ verticem ſuum ſubmittere auſus fuit.*

[c] 5. At this Audience I told the Emperour, that Your Majeſty would hardly be perſwaded, without his own affirmation, that *Spinola* had invaded the *Palatinate* by his expreſs Order: And much leſs believe, that he would lend any approbation thereunto *ex poſt facto*, by way of Ban, or otherwiſe. Which action of *Spinola*, the Emperour doth here aſſume: But whether ſuch was his meaning, from the beginning; or that his ſucceſs in *Bohemia* hath bred this reſolution, may be ſomewhat queſtionable. Alwayes ſure it is, that he affirmed unto the *French* Ambaſſadors long ſince, that the Marqueſs *Spinola* was to come into *Bohemia*.

Circa Tractatum de Pace inſtituendum, declaratſe ſua Cæſarea *Majeſtas ab eodem haud quaquam alienum; quodque intellecto Conſilio Inclytæ Domus ſuæ Principum, nec non Electorum & Principum, quorum hactenus fidelem operam adhibuit,*

[f] *intra dies quadraginta circitèr* ſe reſolvet: *quem tamen Tractatum* ad illas ſaltem Provincias extendi *vult, qua interim vel armis, vel alio*

[f] 6. Of this term of 40 dayes, and the following reſtriction, not to treat touching any Province that in the

alio modo, ad debitam Regi Dominoque ſuo obedientiam non fuerint reducta; reſervato ſibi quoque jure interim tum Armis, tum Legibus & Conſtitutionibus Imperialibus, contra quoſcunque Pacis publicæ perturbatores, & adverſarios ſuos procedendi.

mean time ſhall be reduced to his obedience, I have written the true cauſe in my Letter to Your Majeſty.

Et in his omnibus, quemadmodum Majeſtas Cæſarea *ſure & rectâ Conſcientia freta, nihil ambigit, omnes Chriſtiani Orbis Reges & Principes ea probare, quæ pro omnibus Regibus & Principibus, quantum ad exemplum attinet, geſſit: ita quicquid in poſterum ex Juris præſcripto in hac cauſa ſanciet, iiſdem facilè ſe comprobaturam confidit. Domino autem Legato gratiam ſuam* Cæſaream *clementer offert.*

Per Imperatorem Die Nov. 28. *Anno* 1620.

Decemb. 4. 1620.

A Copy of the Emperours Anſwer to my Audience, about the Ban or Proſcription intended againſt the *Palatine.*

S*Acra* Cæſarea & Hungariæ Bohemiæq; *Regia Majeſtas, Dominus noſter Clementiſſimus, iiſq; Sereniſſimi Magnæ* Britanniæ *Regis Legatus de ſuſpendenda declaratione Banni Imperialis contra* Palatinum Rheni *Electorem, de expreſſo* [g] Regis ſui mandato propoſuit, *in hunc ſenſum reſpondet.*

7. [g] In Letters from M. Secretary *Naunton* of the 23. of *Sept.* which came ſo late unto my hands, that the Emperors Ban was already formally couched, and ready to be put to the Print.

Magni

Magni semper Majestatem suam Cæsaream *dicti Serenissimi Regis sibi addictissimi, officia, amicitiam, mutuamq; cum Inclyta Domo sua* Austriaca *conjunctionem æstimâsse, & etiam nunc æstimare; ac ne minimùm quidem ambigere, quin si prudentibus & pacificis Soceri sui consiliis. Gener obsecundare, quam turbulentis pravorum instigationibus, atque animo suo morem gerere maluisset, ingens malorum necessitas tempestivè præcaveri atque declarari potuisset. Cum verò parta nuper, singulari Dei beneficio, propè* Pragam *contra Majestatis suæ Rebelles memorabili victoria, ne nunc quidem dictus* Palatinus *sanioribus sese consiliis accommodet, sed in eodem inobedientiæ tramite* [h] pertinaciter

h 8. This I think was added, out of meer conjecture: For wee have heard nothing of the Electors Actions, since his retiring into *Silesia.*

perseveret, *quin etiam* refractarios Majestatis suæ subditos, atque Provincias *quæ* cæteroquin Regis Dominiq; *sui, à quo desciverunt, gratiæ haud dubiè sese submitterent, ad Rebellionem malè cœptam, desperatè continuandam animet, atque instiget: Nulla Majestati suæ* Cæsareæ, *hoc loci, benignitatis vel indulgentiæ commonstrandæ, vel declarationis pœnæ etiam ad momentum suspendendæ occasio superet. Quæ tamen pro innata sibi bonitate, & singulari erga Serenissimum Magnæ* Britanniæ *Regem benevolentia, in hoc gravissimo negotio,* ea adhuc [i] temporis moderatione. *quam causæ Justitia, Sacri Romani Imperii Constitutiones, Suprema Officii sui* Cæsarei *Authoritas, & ipsa denique necessitas permissura sint, procedet.*

i 9. So as upon my Intercession the Emperor hath granted some suspence of the *Banne*: Which I required for two principal Reasons:

1 Because the King

Per Imperatorem Die 4. Dec. 1620.

my Maſters moderation in the *Bohemian* Buſineſs, not Cauſe, Who was ſo much intereſſed in the Perſons, did juſtly merit from the Emperor an exchange of temperate proceeding.

2. Becauſe ſuch an Imperial Proſcription would but more and more inflame the minds of all Princes intereſſed by reaſon of Bloud or State in the ſubſiſtence of the *Palatine*, and would be the cauſe of a perpetual War in the bowels of the Empire, contrary to the Chriſtian endeavours and wiſhes of Your Majeſty: Whoſe good intentions were now ſo manifeſted to the World by ſundry Ambaſſages, that You were ſatisfied in Your Own Conſcience, and juſtified before God and man, whatſoever ſhould enſue. I told him beſides, that I thought Your Majeſty would take it kindly, if at Your requeſt this Proſcription were forborn.

A Diſpatch from Vienna, *in* Decemb. 1620.

To His Moſt Sacred Majeſty.

ALthough I had from Your Majeſty a power in my Inſtructions to depart hence to my other Imployment, as ſoon as this Controverſie ſhould be decided, either by Treaty or by Fortune; yet I have ſtayed here a moneth and an half after the Battel, that I might view the final reſolutions; whereof I ſhall now render Your Majeſty an accompt: Which I am bound to begin with my humbleſt thanks for Your benign approbation of my poor endeavours, as I have underſtood from both Your Secretaries; wherein I ſee that Your Majeſty is ſtill pleaſed by the excellency of Your Nature, and

by the indulgency of your judgement, to accept honeſt zeal for diſcretion in your own Creature. Serving therefore ſo good and ſo gracious a Maſter, I will proceed chearfully to the diſcharge of the reſt, as the affairs ſtand.

By my laſt to Mr. Secretary *Nanton*, your Majeſty underſtood the cauſe of Monſieur *de Preaux* his going into *Hungary*: And by this you may expect the fruit of his journey: There arriving after news of the defeat before *Prague*, He found much alteration in their faces, and much altercation in their Councels; about vvhich he vvas once publickly admitted; vvhere he undeſtood paſſion enough, being the common language of Nature, but nothing elſe: for they ſpake in their own Tongue. At laſt this vvas the Concluſion, That a Gentleman ſhould be immediately diſpatched to the Elector *Palatine* (ſuppoſed at *Preſlaw* in *Sileſia*) to underſtand vvhether he vvould joyn vvith the *Hungarians* in a Treaty vvith the Emperor: and in caſe of either delay or denial, to make a ſolemn proteſtation, that they vvould provide for themſelves: Of the event vvhereof the Prince of *Tranſilvania* undertook by the 15th of this Month, *aut circiter*, to give knowledge hither. I muſt profeſs unto your Majeſty, that I did little expect (for my part) ſo much formality from the ſaid Prince, *in hoc ſtatu rerum*, as to attend a return from *Sileſia*; having before (as hath been written) ſo cloſely begun here to practice of his own reconcilement: But the truth is (and vvell he knows it) that he may be heard vvhen he liſteth, by reaſon of the Turk at his back; under vvhoſe ſhadovv he vvill ſit himſelf.

Novv touching mine own peculiar duties. For vvith

vvith *Bethelem Gabor* and the *Hungarians*: I have nothing to do in single consideration (as your Majesties, Servant) till vve shall hear vvhether the Elector your Son-in-lavv, and that Kingdom, will treat vvith the Emperor conjunctively or no.

Before the going of *de Preaux*, I had one access to the Emperor, and two other vvhile he vvas away.

The first after consultation here vvith the *French* Ambassadors, about the Answer vvhich we had (vvith no small loss of time and advantage) so late received from *Bohemia*, addressed unto me by Sir *Francis Nethersale* in *French*, as it came to him from the Camp.

The other two, touching your Majesties declaration of your self in the *Palatine* cause, and intercession against the Emperors *Bann*, as they call it: about vvhich I shall need to trouble your Majesty no further then vvith the perusal of such Marginal Notes as I have added both to the foresaid *French* Paper, and to the Emperors two Answers in *Latine*, vvhich come herewith, and contain all that may concern your latter directions in two Letters from Master Secretary *Nanton*. Yet I must not omit, that between the second and third of these Audiences, I vvas visited by the Baron of *Leekenberg* (the Emperors inwardest Counsellor and Favorite) vvho spent an hour or two at my Lodging, vvith much protestation of his Masters respect towards your Majesty; of his grief that things were gone on to such expence of blood; of his vvishes that your Son-in-lavv had rather taken your Majesties counsel then the Duke of *Bovillons*; of his forgiving nature; of his desire to recover only his own, and to redeem this Imperial House from open scorn: Lastly, that the King of *Spain* also had

vvritten hither, hovv glad he vvould be that your Majesty might have all possible satisfaction. This vvas after the Emperor had been informed of his succes at *Prague*; vvhereunto there vvas, as to all other fair discourse of this kind, but one only reply on my part; That your Majesty might justly promise your self very good respect here, and good offices from *Spain*, by the merit of your own moderation in the *Bohemian* Cause, and by your Christian endeavors for the common quiet vvith such perseverance. I must not forget likewise to inform your Majesty, that my self visiting here the *Spanish* Ambassador (as I have usually done after my Audiences vvith the Emperor) and falling (as I thought might vvell become me) into vvonder at *Spinola*'s intrusions, enough to inflame all Christendom, vvhich your Majesty (measuring other Princes by the equity of your own heart) had no reason to expect. He asked me, after a little deliberation, *Whether the Marques of* Buckingham *were not a Gentleman of Honour?* I need not profes how glad I vvas of such occasion to do your Majesties Dearest Servant, and mine own most Noble Patron, all the right that my voice could utter; but in truth, on the other side, extreamly surprized vvith so impertinent a question to my discourse, till he eased me vvith the sight of a Paper out of his Cabinet. It vvas the Copy of a Letter vvritten by my Lord Marques, in your Majesties Name, to the *Spanish* Ambassador residing vvith you; vvherein your Majesty did thus far justifie the *Spanish* proceedings, *As never to have made any promise that they would not assail the* Palatinate. Whereupon this Ambassador inferred, that the said Letter vvritten by so Noble a Personage, and in your Majesties Name,

Name, vvas a high diſcharge for *Spain* in the point of real dealing. I replied, That indeed I had never heard of any direct promiſes, or denial made about that matter; but that your Majeſties Servants employed therein (whereof I vvas one my ſelf to the Arch-Duke *Leopoldus*) did rather complain of Anſwers obſcure and ambiguous, and very different from our plain *Engliſh* ſtyle. This vvas all that paſſed between the Conde *d'Ogniate* and me, into vvhich I have a little digreſſed. Novv then to recollect hovv vve ſtand here in point of Negotiation.

The Prince of *Tranſilvania* hath prefixed the 15th day of this Month, or thereabout, (as I ſaid before) for his Term; within which he will ſignifie in what manner he intendeth to Treat, according to the Anſwer out of *Sileſia*. The Emperor on the other ſide, did take the term of forty days for the declaring of his mind fully to me and the *French* Ambaſſadors, which expire, by our computation, on the 27. of this ſaid Month; intending in the mean time to preconſult with his Friends, or rather (as we perceive) with his Fortunes: And howſoever, *Not to Treat of any Province, or part, as then reduced to his obedience.* So as plainly enough he choſe that reſpite to contemplate the intervenient changes: For at firſt he was more tractable, he ſpake of no Friends whoſe advices were before to be asked; he demanded no term to think farther on the matter; he added no reſtriction: all theſe are the ſuggeſtions of his proſperity. And ſo we ſtand in point of buſineſs.

In the ſtate of the Provinces I can deliver nothing but fluctuation and ſubmiſſion, the ordinary conſequences of Victory.

The first were the *Bohemians*, who forgetting both Oaths and Contracts, yielded up the Original Patent of their Combination to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as the Emperors Commissary.

The next were the *Moravians*; who after the Count *Bucquoy* had taken *Trigla*, one of their wealthiest, and summoned *Znam*, the chiefest of their Towns, resolved in a full Assembly of their States, to submit themselves by Deputies, who are hourly expected here.

The other Appendants to the *Bohemian* Crown are likely to follow the *Moravian* example, being incomparably (as hath well appeared) the most resolute piece of the whole knot, and that which gave vigour to the rest, *dum Troja stabat*.

What the *Hungarians* shall determine of themselves, I will set down in a Postscript; for which I have long suspended the dispatch of this Bearer.

I cannot conclude without representing unto your Majesty, in all event, two humble remembrances, vvhereof your higher wisdom may perchance make some use.

The first is, That I conceive the *French* King bound to joyn with your Majesty in the *Palatine* Cause: I do not mean only by reason of state and jealousie of this spreading House, *cujus gliscit potentia*, as I may modestly say, nor by Ancient obligation and gratitude to the said Electoral Line, or to your own Kingdoms in the needful days of his Father, but by a fresher band, even by the Treaty of *Ulm*, where his Embassadors did intervene: For they tell me, that by virtue thereof, neither *directè nec indirectè*, any of the Provinces belonging to the League, or to the Union, could be molested by either side. Which the Electors of

Mentz

Mentz and *Colen* have broken by permiſſion of *Spinola*; nay, divers ways, by ſubminiſtration of commodities to his Army. And I hear, that to ſave themſelves, they have procured Patents from the Emperor, that as his Commiſſaries, they may do ſome things which they could not do or permit as Leaguers. Always ſure I am, that the Duke of *Bavaria* did three or four days withſtand the nominating of the *French* Ambaſſadors in the foreſaid Treaty, which the other ſide did as vehemently affect; for no other imaginable reaſon, within my penetration, then only to engage *France* in the maintenance thereof. This I have touched, not that I doubt of your accommodating of thoſe things civily without Arms, or that your Majeſty ſhall need (if extremity require the ſharpeſt remedies) any help to vindicate your own Deſcendents from violence; but becauſe *en tout cas* the conjunction of *France* would be ſome eaſe to the Princes of the Union, whereof your Majeſty is the head.

The other point that I am bold to offer unto your Majeſties conſideration, is, That the King of *Spain* himſelf is bound by his own proteſtation to revoke *Spinola*: For therein he declareth, that his meaning was not by aſſiſting the Emperour, *Cuiquam Mortalium per injuriam vim inferre, aut in aliena cupiditatem ſuam extendere*: which proteſtation the Emperor received from his own Ambaſſador in the *Spaniſh* Court, and by his Secretary here did communicate the ſame with me, to be ſent unto your Majeſty, as I did in my firſt Diſpatch; and have now again ſent another Copy, leaſt the former ſhould be ſtrayed. And ſo with my humble

Prayers to the eternal God for your bleſſed health and joy, I ever reſt,

Your Majeſties long devoted Servant, and faithful Vaſſal, H.W.

POSTSCRIPT.

The expected Advertiſement is now come from the Prince of *Tranſilvania* to this effect. He greatly complaineth of the faintneſs and defection of his Confederates in general: And in particular, firſt, that an Ambaſſage which he addreſſed ſince the Battel to the *Moravians*, with animating perſwaſions, took no place. Next, that the Elector *Palatine* (to whom he expreſly ſent into *Sileſia Johannes Krauſs*, Secretary of the Kingdom of *Hungaria*) hath not vouchſafed him any clear or determinate Anſwer to the Subject of his Errand, which I have before ſet down. Nay farther, that the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Count of *Hollock*, came joyntly together unto the ſaid *Johannes Krauſs* in *Preſlaw*, and there among other diſcourſe told him, *That the remainder of this affair was not to be handled by the* French *Ambaſſadors, nor by me here*; which the *French* take very ſenſibly, eſpecially their offer and interceſſion having before by the ſaid Prince of *Anhalt* been unaccepted, and a Letter which they wrote unto him, to this hour unanſwered; though ſent by Monſieur *de Ste Catherine*, no ſuſpected Perſon, but one who had been ſo long reſident in the *Palatine* Court. Upon which premiſes, they have ſeriouſly deſired me to teſtifie unto your Majeſty (as in truth I am bound) their willing-

willingneſs to have mediated in this cauſe, and their continual frank and faithful conferences with me about the common end. On the other ſide, I have deſired them to repreſent things fairly to the King their Maſter, and not upon any private diſtaſte to abandon the common intereſt, which ſo many Princes have in the ſubſiſtence of the *Palatine*. Since this Advertiſement from *Bethelem Gabor* and his *Hungarians* (who are reſolved to Treat ſingly, and have ſent hither to propound it) we have gotten knowledge, that ſuch a Letter is come to the Emperor from the Duke of *Saxony*, touching the *Palatine* Elector, as makes us conceive he will uſe his mediation rather then ours: So as I am preparing towards *Venice* in this hard ſeaſon, where (as your Majeſties Servant) I have the honour to be much expected and deſired, as I hear by their Reſident in this place; eſpecially the Republick ſtanding in no ſmall perplexity and ſollicitude at the preſent divers ways. There I ſhall attend your Majeſties farther directions, and leave the *French* (as I found them) upon this Stage, till they get leave to depart, for which they have diſpatched home an expreſs Currier, intending in the mean time to deal between the Emperour and *Bethelem Gabor*.

The Accord of Ulm, *June* 23. 1620.
(mentioned in the foregoing Letter.)

NOus Maximilian *par la grace de Dieu Comte* Palatin *du Rhein, Duc de la haute & baſſe* Baviere, *&c. Et nous* Joachim Erneſt *par la meſme grace, Marquis de* Brandenbourg, *Duc de* Pruſſe, Stetin,

&

& Pomeranie, *des* Caſoubes, & Wenden, *de* Sileſie, *de* Croonen & Jagendorff, *Burgrave de* Nurnberg, & *Prince de* Rugen:

Be it known unto all and every one, that ſeeing as well within the Sacred Empire of *Germany*, as in divers Kingdoms and Neighbouring Eſtates, Troubles and Tumults, and Alterations have been on foot, and long continued, whereas not the Catholicks only, but the Electors, Princes, and Confederate States of the Religion, have taken occaſion to Arm themſelves, which indeed hath been the cauſe of great differences and miſpriſions, if theſe preparations of Arms, and levy of Souldiers ſhould proceed further on both ſides, to offend and deſtroy one another: Therefore that ſuch deſpight may be removed, and good friendſhip between both Parties in the Empire eſtabliſhed, We have made a firm and conſtant Agreement, by means likewiſe of the *French* Ambaſſadors, which were at that time in the Imperial City of *Ulm*.

And firſt of all, We *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, as General of the Catholick League, by virtue of our Authority; and We *Joachim Ernest* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, as Lieutenant General of the Union, by virtue of our Authority, in the preſence and approbation alſo of other Princes, States, Alliants, Deputies with full Power and Authority, do promiſe and vow for our Selves of each Party, Alliants, Electors, Princes, and States, by all the real Words of Truth and Fidelity, in the beſt and moſt ſtable form that may or ought hold, or ſtand firm by all the Rules of Right, That none Electors, Princes, Alliants, States, of either Party, in what manner ſoever, or under whatſoever pretence, neither by themſelves nor any other, ſhall with Arms

Arms pertaining to either Party, offend or cut off the Treaty of Peace, nor diſcommodate, pillage, ſpoil, attaint, or trouble one another, nor any thing to them belonging, as Electoralities, Principalities, Subjects, Towns, Villages, Revenues Eccleſiaſtical or Civil: But that as well the Catholicks with the Goſpellers, as they again with the Catholicks, be and remain in true and unfeigned Peace, Concord, and Charity, every of them ſecure in their own Proprieties, without fear of Trouble or Aſſault. And to the end that this Promiſe and Confidence (being otherwiſe required and enjoyned between Princes and Neighbouring Eſtates, by Conſtitutions of the Empire) may faithfully be continued, it is provided, That the two Armies here near encamped, with all poſſible ſpeed remove out of the places where they were pitched, without any detriment to either Party, and that they lodge not together in one place.

Secondly, it is concluded, That if perchance any Elector, Prince, Confederate, State, of either Party, or indeed either of them in groſs, ſhould require upon neceſſity a Paſſage, by virtue of Ordinances of the Empire, for the Defence and Security of them and their Subjects, having firſt peaceably given ſufficient Caution, neither of them ought to deny it: Provided the ſame requiſition be ſeaſonably made, not upon raſh and precipitate Advice, when the Army be upon the Frontiers, or indeed within the Territories of them, with complaint or diſcommodity of the Subject.

Thirdly, Foraſmuch as We *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, and other Electors, Princes, Catholick Eſtates and Alliants, have excluded from this preſent Treaty the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, with the Incorporated Provinces, and other States He-

reditary of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and comprehended within the Treaty, only the Electorals, and Countries belonging to Electors, Princes, and States Confederates of either Party, under which alſo is contained the Electoral *Palatinate*, with all Inheritances thereunto belonging, ſcituate within the Empire; They ought not to be expended further, ſeeing at this preſent we perſiſt not in theſe differences, that having nothing common with the reſt, but we will keep good Correſpondence with them without any ſuſpition: Which likewiſe We *Joachim Erneſt* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, do agree to the Reſolution of the Electors, Princes, and States Catholick, touching the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the United Provinces, with other Inheritances appertaining to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, for Us, our Alliants, Electors, Princes and States; and We will no leſs on our ſide, that the ſaid Kingdom of *Bohemia*, with the United Provinces and Countries Hereditary to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, be not compriſed in this Treaty, underſtanding as well this Declaration to be for the Electoralities, Principalities, and Eſtates ſcituate and being within the Empire.

Fourthly, Whereas during this Treaty, divers times mention hath been made of the Griefs of the Empire not yet decided, the deciſion of the ſame is remitted to ſome more convenient time, ſeeing this was too ſhort, and the Grievances touched not only thoſe of either Party, but in general all, both Catholick and Evangelical States of the whole Empire, concerning which, for this preſent, there is no ſufficient Power or Authority to determine.

And ſeeing both of either Party pretend loſſes and damages done and received by either ſide, and par-

particularly at the Village of *Sandthaim*, and thereabouts, it ſhall be ſhortly treated of reaſonable reſtitution for the ſame. All vvhich things, vve *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, and vve *Joachim Erneſt*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, as vvell for us, as for the above-named our Confederates, Electors, Princes and States, do promiſe to maintain and keep inviolably: In vvitneſs of vvhich, vve have ſet to our Hands and Seals, the $\frac{3.\ July,}{23.\ June,}$ *An.* 1620.

Locus O *Sigilli* *Maximilian.* *Locus* O *Sigilli* *Joachim Erneſt.*

A Diſpatch by Ralph *from* Venice, 1621.

SIR,

I Chooſe at the preſent to vvrite thick and ſmall, for the cloſer conveyance of that vvhich followeth, firſt to your faithfull hands, and by them immediately unto our Soveraign Lord the King.

The deputed Cardinals of the Congregation or Committee in *Rome* touching his Majeſties Matrimonial Treaty vvith *Spain*, *having reſolved negatively, even after ſix* Aſſemblies; *the Cardinal* Ludoviſio *and the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador* vvent joyntly to the *Pope*, to pray him, *that by no means the negative reſolution might be divulged as yet, but ſuppreſſed* for a time; becauſe ſome turns vvere to be done by the concealment thereof. Hereupon *the* Venetian *Ambaſſador*, *by name*, Reniero Zen, (the moſt diving man that ever the *Republick* hath held in that Court, and of much confidence vvith the *Pope* upon old acquaintance)

tance) observing that the foresaid *Congregation had voted*, and that their censures were concealed; comes to *the Cardinal* Ludovisio, *the* Popes *Nephew*, before-named, and extracts from him the whole matter, with the means and reason of the suppression. This I have received from a credible, and I would say, from an infallible fountain, if it did not become my simplicity, in a point so much concerning the eternal dishonour of a great King, to leave always some possibility of mis-information. Yet thus much more I must adde, not out of intelligence, but from sober discourse; that although the present *Pope* hath been hitherto esteemed more *French*, then any of his Predecessors a great while; yet is not the *King of* Spain, such a Bankrupt *in* Rome, but that he might easily have procured an assent in the fore-named Congregation, or at least a resolution sooner, then after five or six meetings of the deputed Cardinals; unless delays had been studied. Be it how it will; as to his Majesty doth belong the Soveraignty of judgement; so to his poor honest Creatures abroad, the liberty of relation, and a frank discharge of our zeal and duties. To which I will subscribe my unworthy Name.

Venice, Feb. $\frac{15}{25}$.
1621.

A Dispatch about the King of Bohemia's *Affairs at* Venice, 1622.

Right Honourable,

I Have formerly acquainted his Majesty, through your hands, how my self being then in *Padoua* under

under Phyſick (of late my familiar evil) I vvas recalled to *Venice*, by the arrival here of Seignor *Filippo. Calandrini*, expreſly ſent to ſollicit ſome contribution from this Republick to the ſupport of Count *Mansfelt*'s Army, vvherein my joynt endeavour vvas required by Letters from the Elector himſelf (as then at the *Hague*) And likewiſe I vvas thereunto the better enabled by very careſull inſtruction from Sir *Dudley Carlton* under cypher, of the vvhole buſineſs how it ſtood. Neither did I need any new immediate Command from his Majeſty, to ſerve in the Cauſe of his own deſcendents, eſpecially after your Letters of the 19th. of *January*, by Order vvhereof I had before in his Royal Name made a general exploration here of their good vvill towards us, and now by the preſent imployment of the foreſaid *Calandrini*, as alſo upon Letters from the Elector to this Duke, (vvhereof the delivery and purſuit vvas recommended to me) I found apt occaſion to deſcend *à Theſi ad Hypotheſin*; vvhich vvith vvhat diſcretion it hath been handled, I dare not ſay; but ſure I am, vvith as much zeal and fervour, as the capacity of my heart could hold; vvhereof the accompt is now due, as followeth:

Two full Audiences I had upon this Subject at mine own demand, and a third at their calling as long as both the former. In my firſt (to make it appear more ſerious then an ordinary duty) I told them I vvould do that vvhich I had never done before. For vvhereas vve commonly leave the reference of our Propoſitions to a Secretary of the State, vvho ſtands alvvayes by the Ambaſſador, and is the tranſporter both of our Arguments and of our affections to the Senate: The Tribunal vvhere vve ſpeak being not diffinitive (vvhich is no ſmall diſ-

advan-

advantage) I now promiſed to eaſe his memory my ſelf vvith an extract of vvhat I had ſaid, vvhich vvas accordingly ſent him the next morning, containing two principal heads:

1. The merit of the Cauſe;
2. The community of the Intereſt;

Both as clear as the Sun. For touching the firſt, the queſtion now vvas only *de recuperatione proprii*, violently invaded: In the courſe of vvhich action, it did appear by pregnant inferences, lately publiſhed, together vvith thoſe intercepted Letters vvhich Frier *Hiacintho*, an out-caſt from this Town, did carry in his Wallet, that the Duke of *Bavaria* had practiſed the Electorate of *Rhine* before the true Elector vvas called to the Crown of *Bohemia*; vvhich I thought the fitter to be touched; for that I knew the Duke had newly received a Copy of the ſaid divulged Letters from his Agent at the *Hague*, and it vvas a point of great impreſſion.

Now their Intereſt vvas as plain as the Caſe it ſelf: For if ſuch violences ſhadowed vvith Imperial Authorities, ſhould likewiſe be countenanced and comforted vvith ſucceſs, vvhat could hinder, vvithin a vvhile, the ſame Torrent to overflow *Italy*, and eſpecially this Dominion, *circondato da affetti poco ſicuri d'ogni intorno*, as I told them I might vvell ſay, even vvith modeſty. Theſe premiſſes being laid, I inferred, that his Majeſty, upon a Cauſe ſo juſt, and a common Intereſt ſo clear, vvas moſt confident in the vviſdome of this grave Senate, that having ſpent vvith palpable benefit in their laſt Motions of freſh memory *qualche bona ſumma* (indeed about two millions of Duckats) to maintain a diverſion ſo near at hand as *il Piede delli Alpi*, they vvould find it more reaſonable to foment

foment the like further off; all diverſions and revulſions (both Politick and Natural) being ſo much the more effectual, by how much the more remote. Laſtly, that though his Majeſty in exchange of that open, frank, and voluntary Declaration, which he made of himſelf heretofore in time of their Troubles, might now expect the like again from them *ex æquo*; and that no Prince living knevv better what the declared Authority of a Dominion ſo eminent, vvould import to the ſum of the buſineſs. Yet not to preſs his Friend too far, his Majeſty vvould be contented vvith a ſilent Contribution without noiſe, under any form that ſhould beſt pleaſe them, and in ſuch proportion as ſhould be conformable to their Love; whereby they ſhould oblige his Royal Perſon and Progeny, not to be wanting unto them in any of their own juſt Occurrents. This was the ſubſtance of my firſt Audience, and of my Memorial ſent to the Secretary. At my ſecond, after I had preſſed the ſame Inducements more effectually, and informed them that the Elector was now gone in Perſon to add vigor to his Subjects, ſo as their help could never come in a better ſeaſon: I fell to tell the Duke, that though it could not become my ſimplicity to preſcribe any form to ſo wiſe a Prince, yet I would crave leave to inſinuate thus much, that they might under the Name of the States (with whom their Confederacy was already known) paſs their good will towards his Majeſty and his Son-in-law, without any further imaginable noiſe, by adding what they ſhould pleaſe moreover to that Contribution (whereunto they are tied by League) of 50000 *Florins*, or 5000 *l. ſterling per menſem*, for which ſurcrew (whatſoever it ſhould be) the States would be an-

ſwerable to the Elector. Nay farther, I told him, albeit now by long ſervice, and by the very conſcience of my zeal towards them, I might preſume to merit ſome part of their confidence; yet I would therein diſpence even with mine own ambition, and undertake as much likewiſe for Signior *Calandrini*, leaving it free unto them to exerciſe their friendſhip through the hands of Signior *Surrian*, their own Miniſter at the *Hague*, without acquainting us here with their determination, for the more ſilent carriage thereof: yet withal, I was not tender to re-intimate unto them, that both the King my Maſter did merit a Noble and open Proceeding; and on the other ſide, this Republick was by Gods bleſſing ſo powerful, as they ſhould not need to ſmother their Reſolutions in ſo juſt a Cauſe. In concluſion I told him, that I did languiſh for the Senates anſwer; for well I knew that they are much guided, like the wiſdom of a Merchant, by accidents, which makes them ſo prone to defer, ſtill hearkening how things fall or riſe, and accordingly ſhaping their Counſels. Between theſe Audiences Signior *Calandrini* did likewiſe twice interceed in name of the States, whoſe perſwaſion (as their Inſtrument) he ſpent apart from mine, though otherwiſe our agreement was well enough known.

On *Wedneſday* laſt, ſome five or ſix days after my ſecond Audience, I was called to college, and the Senates Anſwer read unto me very loud and treatably, as the Duke willed the Secretary; whereof yet I required a ſecond reading, for Copies are not uſually granted; which I muſt note for another diſadvantage of moment in negotiating with this State, becauſe they may appeal from our Memories.

mories. In this Anſwer were repeated, with ſome new beautifying, the three points wherein they did pretend to have prevented his Majeſties former imploration of their concurrence, when he wrote his own Letters in behalf of his Son-in-law. The three points were theſe:

1. Their Contribution to the States, by which they maintain in thoſe Provinces 4000 men.

2. Their Entertainment and Penſioning of the Count *Mansfelt*, with intent to fix him where he is, who elſe might have been drawn away by other offers.

3. Their Promiſe to joyn with the *French* King and *Savoy* in the *Rhetian* buſineſs.

All which three, they call Points of Common Intereſt with his Majeſty, and of Common Benefit to the Elector by way of Diverſion; and two of them Actual Ingagements of this Republick. Now to theſe in the foreſaid Anſwer, they added a fourth, for a little ſtronger excuſe at the preſent; namely, a freſh and ſharp Inſurrection amongſt the *Griſons*, where the Patriots of the *Dieci dritture*, ſeemed to have overmatched the Party of the Arch-duke *Leopoldo* with ſuch conſiderable ſucceſs, that the Canton of *Surick* (who are neareſt the truth) are likewiſe in ſome motion to help them; ſo as this State expecteth alſo to be called to that Feaſt, and well inclined thereunto. This was all the new garniſhment that I could obſerve in their Anſwer. Towards the end whereof I was much ſurprized with their telling me, in plain terms, that his Majeſty was well ſatisfied with thoſe former Demonſtrations of their good will in the Common Cauſe, repreſented unto him by their Ambaſſador *Lando*, as he had written hither. To which Point, though

the laſt of theirs, I replied firſt, That indeed his Majeſty (whoſe excellent heart doth believe always the beſt of his Friends) had no reaſon to miſlike their former Anſwer: And ſo far I had co-operated with their own Inſtrument, as to repreſent it *con buon' ſapore*; but yet no further then the matter would bear, which was but a generality of good will, and no direct ſatisfaction. And whereas now they did deſire me likewiſe to reiterate to the King my Maſter, their great ſenſibility of the Common Intereſt; I told them ingeniouſly *con un' ſtringer di ſpalle*, that I knew not well how to do it, till they gave me more ſubject: For Philoſophy (whoſe naked Principles I had more ſtudied then Art of Language) had taught me, even in one of her moſt Fundamental Maxims, that *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Hereupon the Duke fell very ſeriouſly to dilate upon the Senates Anſwer, and left me indeed with ſome occaſion of contentment: For he told me, I might mark by the ſaid Anſwer, a Reſolution in the Senate not to neglect a Cauſe wherein they held themſelves ſo intereſſed, and (as had been ſaid before) already actually ingaged, though the buſineſs of the *Griſons*, and the new noiſe from thence did at the preſent diſtract them. Of this I took preſently hold; replying, That I would receive this Speech as a Commentary upon the Senates Anſwer; and repreſent unto his Majeſty, that when the principal reaſon of their excuſe ſhould ceaſe, namely, theſe freſh ſtirrings ſo near them, which ſeemed to require their abetment, then they would give us more particular ſatisfaction. For which (to rivet it the better) I gave thanks, and told him, I would hearken after the iſſue of this *Rhetian* noiſe, and accordingly put him in mind again of our own ne-

necessities: to which he gave me *un gratioso accenamento*, and so fell to tell me, with extream gladness, their news of the late defeat given by *Mansfelt* to the *Bavarian* Troops.

Now to collect the fruit of my poor endeavors, thus we stand; If action shall grow on this side, we shall surely receive more benefit by that diversion, then we should by contribution: For the Arch-duke *Leopoldo* would by chance be drawn from *Alsatia* to think of *Tirol*; and the *Neapolitan* and *Milan* Levies, which should supply *Germany*, will be spent here. If *Italy* be quiet, then (*dicam audax verbum*) this State must necessarily help us, that it may be so still; for I shall not need to make them sensible of the vicissitude of humane troubles, either here or there, which is their common Text: But all dependeth upon his Majesties urging of his own merits, which was my highest Argument, together with that Obligation which he will acknowledge, as his own gracious Letters import.

This account I send with some diligence, that it may prevent the new *Venetian* Ambassadors first Audience, or at least the leave-taking of the old; into whom it may please his Majesty to infuse his good thoughts, and to take notice of these Audiences which I had here in the way of his Service. And so the Lord of Heaven bless Him and His.

POSTSCRIPT.

Signior *Filippo Calandini* came hither with Instructions from the States, much resembling a Quadruple entrenchment; wherein being beaten from the first, he was to retire to the second, and so forth. The first was, To sollicite a free and open Contribution. The second, That they would at

leaſt Contribute under the Name of the ſaid States. The third, That they vvould Contribute joyntly vvith the States. The fourth, That at leaſt they vvould pay the Arearages of 10000 *Florins per menſem*, that have run due by virtue of their League, from the 9th of *April*, 1621. Since vvhich term, the ſaid States pretend to have re-entred into Action; and in this Caſe the States promiſe to contribute five of thoſe Months to the Elector. Novv, conſidering the hopeful Anſwer that I have received, I have dealt vvith Signior *Calandrini*, to ſpend the perſwaſion of the States in the firſt point abſolutely; and in the laſt, to urge only the Arearages upon the Contract, vvithout adding the intention of the States to contribute any portion thereof to the Elector; leaſt it might prejudice the hope of a greater Contribution, vvhich no doubt his Majeſty may have from hence, if it pleaſe him to urge his own merits.

1624. *S. P.*

I Send you both the incloſed, uncloſed, and my Seal vvithal, that vvhen you have peruſed them, you may ſeal them; for becauſe they contain a recommendation of your ſelf, it vvere ſomewhat incongruous to preſent them open.

You had yeſterday received them, but that I ſuſpended my hand too long in expectation of *James*; about vvhom vve are yet in much doubt of ſome miſadventure by his ſtay. You ſee that in the Poſtſcript to the Duke, I mention the deſign of *Caprarola*, vvhich I have left out of his Letter, that you may not come unto him vvith empty hands.

It

It shall be fit for your self to offer him your service abroad, which I have (as you see) offered the Prince through Mr. *Thomas Carie*'s hands, who, I hope, will let his Highness see my Letter.

And so languishing to hear somewhat from my Nephew, with all my duties remembred to all, I rest,

This *Tuesday* Morning. *Your ever true Friend,*

HENRY WOTTON.

Upon the Design you must play the Mountebank. And tell the Duke, that the one Paper containeth the Plant or ground-Lines, the other, the reared work, in Perspective with all the Dimensions so exactly, as if it please him he may easily have a Model made thereof in Pastboard.

If Mr. *Thomas Cary* should by chance have been sent away again into *France*, then deliver, with my humble service, the Letter to my Lord of *Lepington* his Father, and beseech him to shew it the Prince.

May, 1626.

The Copy of my Report after the Examination of the Lord of Oldebare's *Daughter.*

ACcording to His Majesties good pleasure signified unto me by an Order from His Counsel-Table, under the 19th. of *May*, and delivered by an express Messenger on *Monday* morning the

22. of the said Moneth, at His Majesties Colledge of *Eton*, that I should examine the Lord of *Oldebare*'s Daughter, now resident in the Town of *Windsor*, in the circumstances of a business which His Majesty had committed to my trust; *vid.* concerning a certain Roll of Names mentioned in a late malicious diffamatory Pamphlet, which one *George Eglisham* had scattered in Print; pretending therein that it was a Roll of divers great Personages which were to be poysoned by the now Duke of *Buckingham*, and among those Great ones, the said *George Eglisham* himself for one; which said Roll (as the said *Eglisham* affirmeth) the foresaid Daughter of the Lord *Oldebare* had brought to the late Lord Marques of *Hamilton* her Cousin, who was one of the inrolled to be poysoned; grounding this defamation upon the testimony of that Roll, brought by the said Gentlewoman to the foresaid Marques: I say, According to His Majesties Command herein, I repaired, the next day after the receit thereof, to the said Lord of *Oldebare*'s Daughter, by Name *Anne Lion*, (though not nominated by the foresaid *Eglisham*, but under her Fathers Title) at her Lodging in *Windsor*, where I found her accompanied with her younger Sister, and a Gentlewoman of her attendance, who were all three in the Room while I spake with her, and I brought in with me Mr. *Michael Branthwait*, heretofore His Majesties Agent in *Venice*, as a Gentleman of approved confidence and sincerity. At my access unto her, because I was a stranger, and the business somewhat harsh and umbrageous, I laboured to take from her all manner of shadow touching her self; which in truth

When I had first enquired out her Lodging.

truth I found very needleſs: For after I had ſhewed her my Commiſſion, and the places in *Egliſham's* Book wherein ſhe was traduced for a Witneſs of this foul defamation, ſhe was ſo far from diſguiſing or reſerving any circumſtance, that ſhe prevented all my inquiſitiveneſs in ſome Queſtions which I had prepared, making a clear, a free, and a noble report of all that had paſſed, which ſhe did dictate unto me, as I wrote in her Window, in her own words, without any inforcement or interruption, as followeth:

At His Majeſties being in *Spain*, a Carr-man of one *Smith* a Woodmonger in *Weſtminſter*, found a Paper, as he ſaid, and gave it to my Mothers Footman to read, whoſe Name was *Thomas Allet*, who brought it immediately to me; it was half a ſheet of Paper laid double by the length, and in it was written in a ſcribled hand, the Names of a number (above a dozen) of the Privy Counſel: ſome words had been written more, which were ſcraped out. The Names were not writ in order as they were of quality. In it, next to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, was writ, Dr. *Egliſham* to imbalm him. No mention of poyſoning, or any ſuch thing, but very Names. I not knowing what it might import more, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* not being at that inſtant in *Whitehall*, I ſent for *James Steward* Servant to the Duke of *Richmond*, and deſired him to ſhew his Lord that Paper, wherein was his Name. He ſaid he would not preſent it himſelf, but would give it to *Alexander Heatley*, his Secretary: So he took the Paper from me; and within a day or two after he brought it back to me, and ſaid, the Secretary thought it not neceſſary to trouble his Lord with all, for as he did conceive, ſome that had

had a Cauſe to be heard before the Privy Counſel, or in the Star Chamber, had written theſe Names to help his own memory, to reckon who would be with him or againſt him. Immediately then I ſent the ſaid *Allet* to *David Strachen*, Servant to the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, and bade him give that to his Lord from me immediately; which he ſaid he did, and that his Lord read it, and put it in his Pocket.

Theſe are the very expreſs and formal words, which this noble Gentlewoman, with a very frank and ingenious ſpirit, as I am bound to teſtifie of her, did dictate to me, in the preſence of the above-named: Whereby may appear to any reaſonable creature, what a ſilly piece of malice this was, when Mr. *Alexander Heatley*, a Gentleman of ſober judgement, to whom the Roll was firſt ſent, though that be concealed by *Egliſham*, did think it too frivolous to be ſo much as once ſhewed to his Maſter, howſoever named therein. At this firſt Conference, as I was ready to depart, my Lord of *Oldebare*'s Daughter deſired of me a view of the Book, out of which I had read her ſome paſſages, wherein her Name was traduced; which could in no equity be denied. So I left it with her till the next day, praying that I might then have her full judgement of it: When repairing again unto her, ſhe told me as freely as the reſt, in the hearing of the ſame company as before, except her Gentlewoman, that *Egliſham* had gone upon very ſlight grounds in ſo great a matter.

The

The Copy of my Letter to the Duke about the ſame Examination.

I Send unto your Grace by this Bearer, Mr. *Michael Branthwait*, the Examination of the Lord of *Oldebare*'s Daughter, touching the Roll of Names ſaid to be found in *Weſtminſter*, of Great Perſonages which were to be poyſoned here, while you were in *Spain*: In the delivery whereof, I have been carefull, as an Examiner, and Relater, to ſet down nothing but her bare and free report; which is the Hiſtorical part: The Critical now remaineth; for after the examination of circumſtances, there is a liberty of judgement.

I have ſeen many defamatory and libellous things of this nature, abroad and at home; though for the moſt part alwayes without truth, yet oftentimes contrived with ſome credibility: But this appeareth, in the whole contexture, utterly void of both, even though we had never known your Grace; nay, I will ſay more, though we had known you to be as bad, and as black, as this Author would paint you. For firſt, the main ground upon which he would raiſe this defamation, is the foreſaid Roll of Names, found, forſooth, not in a Cabinet, but in a dirty Street. Now, when we come to hunt it home, the authentical Inſtruments that ſhould give it credit, are a Carrman, and a Footman; till at laſt it came to Mr. *Alexander Heatley*: a Gentleman indeed (as I have conceived of him) of ſound abilities. Then what does he with it? Marry, He thought it ſo frivolous, that albeit it had paſſed to him through the hands of a noble Gentlewoman of his own Countrey, yet he would

vvould not once trouble the late Duke of *Richmond* his Maſter ſo much as vvith a ſight of it, though his ſaid Maſter vvas one of the inrolled. Then, it comes back again, and the Gentlewoman conveyeth it by another hand to the late Marqueſs of *Hamilton*: What doth he vvith it? It ſleeps in his Pocket. There, vve are not only at a fault, in the Hunters term; but at a reſt, as if vve vvere but playing at Tennis: I am ſorry to charge the memory of that Worthy Gentleman, to vvhom I vvas much bound for his favour, ſo far as his Doctor hath laden him; that if he thought it more important then Mr. *Heatley* did, either by vvant of charity he vvould ſmother ſo horrible a practice againſt the lives of at leaſt a dozen of his Collegues in Privy Counſel, or for vvant of courage not proſecute his own Cauſe: Eſpecially, your Grace (vvhoſe power this Pamphletter doth alledge for the impediment of all proſecution) being then (as appeareth by the Examination) in *Spain*.

Much more might be ſaid upon the matter; but I value, not only your Graces, but mine own time at a greater price: Yet I have committed a remembrance or two to this Bearer; for vvhoſe ſincerity I am bound to anſwer, becauſe I did chooſe him for a Witneſs in the Examination. One ſcruple only I had in point of formality, Whether I ſhould addreſs this accompt or no to the Counſel-Table, vvhence I received the Commiſſion. But conſidering, that it came unto me, though by Order from thence, yet under the Kings truſt; I have directed it to your hands, vvhom it moſt concerneth.

I had vvaited vvith it on your Grace in perſon, but that in truth, ſome ſtraitneſs by diſtillations in my breſt, makes me reſolve to enter anew into a little

little courſe of Phyſick. And ſo having diſcharged this duty according to my Conſcience and capacity, I humbly leave your Grace in Gods bleſſed love; remaining,

Your Graces ever devoted
and profeſſed Servant,

HENRY WOTTON.

1626.

The Copy of my Letter to the Queen of Bohemia.

Moſt Reſplendent Queen, even in the darkneſs of Fortune,

I Moſt humbly ſalute Your Majeſty again, after the longeſt ſilence that I have ever held with You, ſince I firſt took into my heart an image of Your excellent Vertues. My thoughts indeed have from the exerciſe of outward duties been confined within my ſelf, and deeply wounded with mine own private griefs and loſſes; which I was afraid, if I had written ſooner to Your Majeſty, before time had dryed them up, would have freſhly bled again. And with what ſhall I now entertain Your ſweet Spirits? It becomes not my weakneſs, to ſpeak of deep and weighty Counſels, nor my privateneſs, of great Perſonages: Yet becauſe I know Your Majeſty cannot but expect, I ſhould ſay ſomewhat of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom all contemplate, I will begin there; and end in ſuch comforts as I can ſuggeſt to Your preſent Eſtate: which ſhall be ever the Subject both of my Letters and of my prayers. But before I deliver my conceit

ceit of the ſaid Duke, I muſt uſe a little Preface. I am two wayes tyed unto him: Firſt, for his ſingular love to my never forgotten *Albertus*; therein likewiſe concurring with Your Majeſties ineſtimable affection. Next, for mine own particular, I hold by his mediation this poor place, as indeed, for the benefit, I may well call it, though not for the contentment: But if it were worth Millions, or Worlds, I proteſt unto Your Majeſty (to whom I owe the bottome of my heart) I would not ſpeak otherwiſe of him, then I conceive. Therefore, ſetting aſide both fears of Parliament, and hopes of Court, I will ſpend my opinion, which is all my freehold.

And truly (my moſt gracious and Royal Miſtreſs) I cannot weigh his Caſe without much wonder: being one of the ſtrangeſt (all conſidered) that I ever yet took into my fancy. Not, that the Commons aſſembled ſhould ſift and winnow the actions even of the higheſt of the Nobility: Not, that an obſcure Phyſician then among them (ambitious of ſome glory out of his own profeſſion) ſhould dare to give the firſt onſet on ſo eminent a Perſonage: Not, that ſuch a popular purſuit once begun by one, and ſeconded by a few other, ſhould quickly kindle a greater Party. Theſe are in their nature no marvels, nor Novelties. Neither can I greatly muſe, that in a young Gentleman, during thirteen years of ſuch proſperit And power, the heighth of his place expoſing him to much obſervation and curioſity; the Lower Houſe likewiſe opening the way to all kind of complaints, (as they did,) and examining nothing upon Oath, (as they never do;) there ſhould be matter enough gleaned to make up thirteen Objections,

jections, and none of heinous degree: For after ſuch boltings to the quick, even among men of far meaner managements, I think there would be found every where ſome Bran. Therefore I can paſs all this over with eaſie belief. But there is a conſideration or two, which do much confound my judgement. Firſt, for the matter it ſelf: That this very Noble man, who at the Parliament of 1623. was ſo univerſally applauded and celebrated in every corner, as a great Inſtrument of the Publick good, (in ſo much as for my part, I conceived him then to be that which few or none had been before in all ages, No leſs Favorite, I mean, to the People, then to the King) ſhould now be perſued with theſe diſlikes, when for the moſt part the very ſame Objectors were in the foreſaid Parliament, and the very ſame Objections (except one or two) might as well then have been alledged: This is, I muſt confeſs to my underſtanding a Labyrinth. Again, When (from the matter turning to the Perſon) I view the fairneſs and equality of his temper and carriage, I can in truth deſcry in his own nature, no original excitement of ſuch diſtaſte, which commonly ariſeth, not ſo much from high fortune, as from high looks. For I moſt ingeniouſly avow unto your Majeſty, that among all the Favorites which mine eyes have beheld in divers Courts, and times, I never ſaw before a ſtrong heart, and eminent condition, ſo clearly void of all pride and ſwelling arrogancy, either in his face or in his faſhion.

Theſe are partly the Reaſons that make me vvonder, hovv ſuch offence ſhould grovv like a muſhrome in a night. But there is one thing above all other that hath ſtrucken deepeſt into my mind, and

and made me see, how the greatest men have this unfortunate adjunct in their felicity, to be sometimes obnoxious to the foulest and falsest reports; whereof in the person of this very Duke himself, I shall lay a monstrous example before your Majesty, out of mine own particular knowledge and employment.

It pleased my Sovereign now being, to direct unto me hither a Commission to examine my Lord of *Oldebares* Daughter, by name Mistress *Anne Lion* (I think sometimes not unknown unto your Majesty) then resident at *Windsor*, about an abominable Pamphlet published and printed towards the time of the last Parliament, in divers Languages, by one Doctor *Eglisham*, a *Scottish* Physitian, who therein chargeth the Duke of *Buckingham* with such trifles as these: The death of the Marquess *Hamilton*, his near Friend and Ally; the death of our late King, of ever blessed memory, his most dear Master; the intended deaths of divers Counsellors of Estate, his Associates: painting, in effect, a nature far beyond that of *Richard* the Third, when he was Duke of *Gloceſter*. And for a Witness hereof he traduceth the foresaid Gentlewoman, or rather as the main ground of his whole Book: which occasioned her examination, at the Dukes pursuit against himself; whereof I send your Majesty a Copy herewith, as I took it from her own free delivery; wherein you shall see a bare Note of a few Counsellors Names, found at first, not in the Dukes Cabinet, but in the very kennel of *King-street* by a Car-man, Servant to a Woodmonger: Secondly, by him brought to a Footman; by which honourable degrees it came to the Gentlewoman all dirty. And at last, it is turned

by

by this Doctor into Bill of Perſonages to be poyſoned, out of a very charitable interpretation then reigning in him. I am doubtful, what paſſion it will moſt ſtir in your Majeſty, when you read the Circumſtances; whether meer laughter at ſuch a ridiculous ſlander, or a noble indignation at ſo deſperate impudency. And ſo not to ſtay any longer upon this Cobweb, I will end with ſuch comforts as I propound to my ſelf in contemplation of your preſent being.

The firſt ſhall be a general impreſſion which we have taken of his Majeſties Nature: And it is this, That he is not only (to conſider him abſolutely in his own compoſition) of ſingular virtue and piety, and reſolution in good; but likewiſe (to conſider him relatively) he is an excellent Husband, Brother, and Friend. I call Favorites the Friends of Kings, as your Majeſty (who is ſo well verſed in the beſt of Books) knows I may do with very good warrant: For was not *Huſhai* the *Archite* ſo ſtyled to *David*, and after him *Zabud* to *Solomon?* Nay, had not the Higheſt of all Examples, in the time of his Humane lowneſs, both among the living a Beloved that lay on his boſome, and another alſo whom he calls his Friend, even when he called him from the dead? Thus much I could not abſtain to let fall from my pen, by the way, againſt all murmurers at any ſingularity of affection, which abound both in States and Families. But of theſe three Relations, I will now only contemplate that which reſpecteth your Majeſty; which indeed is as clear and viſible as the reſt: For ſurely all the Parliaments that our moſt Gracious Sovereign hath hitherto aſſembled, and all the Actions that he hath undertaken abroad, either of himſelf or by com-

binations, and his private Counſels at home, have principally levelled at your ſupport and reſtorement, as the Deliberations likewiſe that went before, in the latter time of your moſt bleſſed Father. So as your Majeſty, in the juſtneſs of your Cauſe, and in the ſweetneſs of your Nature, doth ſtand firmly inveſted in both the titles of as beloved a Siſter as you were a Daughter. And I am confident, that our living and loving God, who did accept the zeal of your Royal Brother, and bleſs his own and the publick devotions at home, with almoſt a miraculous converſion of the infirmity which raged, into health, and of the ſterility which was feared, into plenty; will likewiſe find his own good time to favour our purſuits abroad.

Your Majeſties ſecond comfort, is the univerſal love of all good Minds. To which I may juſtly add, a particular zeal in him who is neareſt his Majeſty, to foment his beſt deſires towards you; which he hath expreſſed ſundry times within my hearing.

The laſt and inwardeſt conſolation that I can repreſent unto your Majeſty, is your ſelf, your own ſoul, your own vertues, your own Chriſtian conſtancy and magnanimity: Whereby your Majeſty hath exalted the glory of your ſex, conquered your affections, and trampled upon your adverſities. To conclude, you have ſhewed the World, that though you were born within the chance, yet without the power of fortune.

And ſo having ſought to redeem ſo long a ſilence, I fear, with too long a trouble; I will promiſe your Majeſty to commit no more of the former fault,

fault, and humbly beg your pardon for the other: ever and ever remaining,

Your Majesties poor Servant
with all humble and hearty devotion,

HENRY WOTTON.

To my most dear and worthy Friend, Mr. John Dinely, *at the* Hague.

My ever most dear Jack Dinely,

THe Queens last Letter (wherewith her Majesty did too much honour me) coming when my voices of any value were no more in mine own power, was nearer a torment then a surprizal. It shall teach me to reserve my self, as wiser men do, for such supervenient temptations, I must confess, above all strength, if the least possibility had been left. It is true, I could have given him a latter place: but in that, I should have disgraced the suiter, and disrespected the Commander. I have therefore rather chosen to put him in the Vanguard the next year, being the Son of a Souldier, then now in the Rear. And this is the summe of my humble answer to her Majesty, though in other terms.

Your *Anthony* (who is my Guest every *Saturday* night) is well grown in stature, and more in knowledge. I verily believe he will prove both a wise and learned man, and certainly good. We have passed over *quocunq; modo* the most troublesome

Election, that, I think, was here ever ſeen. Wherein, according to my uſual faſhion, I have loſt four or five friends, and yet I thank God, not gotten the value of one *Harrington*: So as they are angry at me on the one ſide, and they laugh at me on the other. If my moſt gracious Miſtreſs will in her goodneſs be pleaſed to drown her diſpleaſure till the next turn, I ſhall chearfully in the mean time, bear the weight of mine own ſimplicity.

I have gotten, with much adoe, ſome of the *Pſalms* tranſlated by my late moſt bleſſed Maſter, for the young Prince of *Bohemia*, (which is one of your memorials that have ſlept too long by me) and I have ranſacked mine own poor Papers for ſome entertainment for the Queen: which ſhall be ſent together. Though it be now a miſery to reviſit the fancies of my youth, which my judgement tells me, are all too green, and my glaſs tells me, that my ſelf am gray. Till my next, let me trouble you no farther. The love of God be with us, and we are well.

From the Colledge at midnight, the 12. of *Auguſt*, 1628.

Your poor true Friend,

HENRY WOTTON.

I hear that one hath offered to the Prince of *Orenge*, an invention of diſcourſing at a great diſtance by Lights: Is it true?

A Noble Lady who is deſirous to beſtow her Son at *Leyden*, would fain be firſt informed, what commodity for education the place doth yield: wherein you ſhall do me and her a great favour.

To

To my very worthy and ever dear Friend, Mr. John Dineſy, *at the* Hague.

My ever dear Jack Dinely,

YOur laſt of the 6th. of *October* vvere vvelcome beyond all expreſſion: intimating a hope that I ſhall ſee your ſelf ſhortly; vvhich vvill be *mille Epiſtolæ*. I do not ſee how you can fail of the thing vvhereof you vvrite, if you come quickly. The Letter in your behalf from our Royal Miſtreſs to his Majeſty here, is too faint, being moulded in your own modeſty: Therefore, I have a little invaded it, vvith ſome violence unto you. When you conſult vvith me about the Perſonage that ſhould firſt, or ſecond, or tertiate your buſineſs vvith the King, I muſt anſwer as *Demoſthenes* did of Action; My Lord Threſorer, My Lord Threſorer, and ſo again. We contemplate him, not only in the quality of his Place, but already in ſome degree of a Privado; and even the freſh introducement of Sir *F. Cottington* to the Counſel-Table, is no ſmall argument of his ſtrength, though otherwiſe a Subject of merit.

I hear likewiſe, that his own ſorraign imployments have given him a great taſte of things abroad: So as you vvill not find him incurious to diſcourſe vvith you: And I verily believe, that he vvill take an addreſs of you from the Queen unto him, as the principal Perſonage, to the heart; vvherein, methinks, it vvere fit and proper, that her Majeſty vvould be pleaſed likewiſe to favour you vvith ſome lines to my Lord *Conaway*, becauſe they vvere joyned in Ambaſſage unto Her at *Prage*. This is

all that I shall need to say, till your own coming. Your little *Anthony* prospers extreamly vvell; and I dare now say, he vvill prove a good Scholar. And so being in truth in no very chearfull disposition at the present, but newly come out of two or three fits of an Ague, I vvill trouble neither of us both any further: ever resting,

From *London*, ready to return to my Coll. at *Eton*, this 13. of *Nov.* 1628.

Your poor professed Friend,

HENRY WOTTON.

If the Queen have not heard the Epitaph of *Albertus Morton* and his Lady, it is vvorth her hearing, for the passionate plainness: } *Authoris Incerti.*

He first decea's'd. She for a little tryed
To live vvithout him: Lik'd it not, and died.

POSTSCRIPT.

In a Letter under this date to her Majesty, I conclude vvith a supplication, that She vvill be pleased to receive a Page, at the joynt suit of the House of *Bacons*: A Boy of singular spirits, vvithout aggravation of her charge; for he shall vvant no means to maintain himself in good fashion about so Royal a Mistress. I pray heartily further this motion, and be in it your self, *Nuncius lætitiarum.*

Part

Part of a Letter to the Lord Treaſurer, Earl of Portland (*ut videtur.*)

THis is the reckoning of my unpleaſant time, whereby your Lordſhip ſees, that my ſilence hath been a ſymptome (as I may term it) of my infirmity, from all outward reſpects and duties, contracting my thoughts about my ſelf. But can that ſerve my turn? No in troth (my good Lord) For I ſhould while my ſelf was in contemplation, have remembred, that I was bound to congratulate with your Lordſhip even for mine own ſake, eſpecially when I found by the long uſe of two or three Phyſicians, the exhauſtion of my Purſe, as great as other evacuations. It would breed wrinckles in my face, if I ſhould ſtay any longer upon this point. I will chear my ſelf, that your Lordſhip did love me, even before I was ſo worthy of your compaſſion. I have taſted the benefit of your diſcourſe, I have enjoyed your hoſpitality, I have been by your favour one of your familiar gueſts, I have had leave to interchange ſome good tales and ſtories in your company, and to exerciſe my natural freedom. Beſides, we have been conjoyned in a ſerious buſineſs, wherein, I do even yet hope for ſome good by your means: So as I have had in your Lordſhip the intereſts both of earneſt, and of pleaſant converſation, which gives me the boldneſs to aſſure my ſelf, that I am ſtill not only within your Lordſhips remembrance, but likewiſe within your loving care.

But I dig in a Rock of Diamonds.

To the KING, 1628.

May it please Your most Sacred Majesty,

IT is more to be bound to Your Majesties judgement, then to be bound to Your favour. Therefore, I do not only joy, but glory (though still with humble acknowledgement and feeling what my self am) that You have been pleased (as I understand from my Lord of *Dorchester*) to apply my Pen to so noble an end: being confident, that the very care, not to disgrace Your Majesties good pleasure, and indulgent choice of me, will invigorate my weakness. But before I enter into the description of others actions and fortunes (which require a free spirit) I must present at Your Royal feet, and even claim from Your natural equity and goodness, such compensation, (as it shall please You) in that which followeth.

I served the King Your Father of most blessed memory, from the time he sent for me, at the beginning of his Raign, out of *France*, (retaining then some gracious remembrance of my service with him in *Scotland*) twenty years, that is, almost now a third part of my life, in ordinary and extraordinary imployments abroad. I had many comfortable Letters of his contentment, or at least, of his gracious toleration of my poor endeavours: And I had under his own Royal hand, two hopes in reversion. The first, a moiety of a six Clerks place in *Chancery*. The next, of the Office of the *Rolls* it self. The first of these, I was forced to yield to Sir *William Beecher*, upon the late Duke of *Buckingham*'s former engagement unto him by promise, even

even after Your Majeſty had been pleaſed to intercede for me, with Your ſaid ever bleſſed Father. And that was as much in value, as my Provoſtſhip were worth at a Market. The other of the Reverſion of the Rolls, I ſurrendred to the ſaid Duke in the Gallery at *Wallingford*-Houſe, upon his own very inſtant motion (the ſaid Duke then intending it, upon the now Attorney, Sir *Robert Heath*) though with ſerious promiſe, upon his honour, that he would procure me ſome equivalent recompence, before any other ſhould be ſetled in the place.

The truth of my humble claim, and of his ſincere intentions towards me, I preſent herewith unto Your Majeſty, in a Letter all under his own hand.

I could likewiſe remember unto Your Majeſty, the loſſes I have ſuſtained abroad, by taking up moneys, for my urgent uſe, at more then twenty in the hundred; by caſualty of fire, to the damage of near four hundred pounds in my particular; by the raiſing of moneys in *Germany*, whereby my ſmall allowance (when I was ſent to the Emperors Court) fell ſhort five hundred pounds, as *Seignor Burlamachi* too well knoweth; and other wayes.

Now for all this (that I may not preſs Your Majeſty with immoderate deſires) I moſt humbly beg from Your Royal equity, and I may ſay, from Your very compaſſion, but two things: Firſt, That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed, in diſpoſing of the *Rolls* (to which I was aſſigned) to reſerve for me ſome ſmall proportion, towards the diſcharge of ſuch debts as I contracted in publick ſervice, yet remaining upon intereſt. Next, That You will be likewiſe pleaſed to promiſe me, the

the next good Deanry, that ſhall be vacant by death or remove: whereof I alſo had a promiſe from Your bleſſed Father then at *Newmarket*, and am now more capable thereof in my preſent condition. And thus ſhall Your Majeſty reſtore me, both to the freedom of my thoughts, and of my life; otherwiſe ſo intricated, that I know not how to unfold it. And ſo with my continual prayers to the Almighty, for his deareſt and largeſt bleſſings upon Your Royal Perſon, I ever reſt,

Whitehall,
Feb. 12.
Styl. vet.
1628.

Your Majeſties moſt faithfull poor Subject and Servant,
HENRY WOTTON.

To my moſt worthy Friend Mr. John Dinely *Eſq*; *at* Boſton *in* Lincolnſhire.

My dear Jack Dinely,

YOu ſee I keep my familiarity, though you be the governor of Princes: And I ſee by your Letter, that I am every where in your remembrance, even where ſo many natural pledges divide you. The Parliament is, ſince your going, diſſolved by the King, upon ſuch reaſon, as in good faith, all ſober minds muſt approve, even while they wiſh it otherwiſe. Never was there ſuch a morning, as that which occaſioned the diſſolution, ſince *Phaeton* did guide his Fathers Chariot.

We are now cheared with ſome forraign news: but I am ſtill ſorry, that we muſt fetch our comfort from abroad, and from the diſcords of *Italy*, inſtead

inſtead of the harmony of *England*. Our Lords ſit often, and vvere never more cloſe: inſomuch as it is as hard to get any thing out of the Counſel-Chamber, as out of the Exchequer.

Sir *Henry Vane* is ſuddenly ſent Extraordinary Ambaſſador to the *Hague*; vvith the more vvonder, becauſe Sir *Robert Carr* is yet there, *omni par negotio*. The others having been Cofferer, breeds ſome conjecture that the buſineſs is pecuniary. Nothing is yet done about the *Rolls*, and thoſe other places in ſequence: And my Lord of *Briſtow*'s re-entry into the Court (vvho the laſt vveek carried the Sword before the King) filleth us vvith new diſcourſe, as if he ſhould be reſtored to the Vice-Chamberlainſhip, vvhich yet lyeth amortized in your Noble Friend.

Mine own buſineſſes ſtand as they did: And the beſt is, they are rather ſtationary then retrograde. I pray remember my hearty affection to your vvorthy Brother, and give him the beſt hope of his *Anthony*. And ſo languiſhing for you again, I commit you all to Gods dear love.

March 11. 1628. *Your faithfulleſt poor Friend,*

HENRY WOTTON.

To the ſame.

My ſweet and dear Jack Dinely,

I Am come newly from thoſe Ladies, vvho think themſelves more lovely then before, and perhaps then they are, ever ſince I ſhewed them your Cha-

Character of their beauties, in your Letter from the *Gally-Graveſend*. Never vvas a Town better Epithited. They all remember themſelves extream kindly unto you. While I vvas there, I ſhould have vvritten Letters proviſionally to go vvith Mr. *Griffith*: But my Brains are even yet in ſome diſtraction among good *Ideas*, vvhereby I am put now to vvrite theſe, and other that go vvith them, in haſt: For my ſaid Friend hath given me vvarning that he ſhall be gone to morrow morning from *London*.

I have vvritten to our Royal Miſtreſs, upon a touch in your laſt, (vvhich found me at *Bolton*) that I had now ſent her my Niece *Stanhop*'s Picture in little, if an expreſs Meſſenger ſent for it, the very night before I came away, by my Lord of *Cheſterfield* (to vvhom it vvas promiſed) had not raviſhed it out of my Pocket. But I ſhall have it in a greater form at my return thither immediately after our Election; vvhich vvill begin to morrow ſeven-night: And the *Friday* morning following Sir *George Kevet*'s Son is in the head of our Liſt; For *Lentum eſt*, to ſay he ſhall be, after your late refreſhment of the Queens Commands. Sir *Edmund Bacon* vvas likewiſe vvith me at *Bolton*: vvhen your Letter ſo over-joyed him, that he called in the very inſtant for ſome Paper to ſend for the ſpiritous *Frank Bacon* from *Redgrave*. And *Sene viene volando*, as faſt as he can trick him up for the Souldier. Of vvhom I vvill vvrite more by himſelf. For to diſcharge the thanks that are due for him, is no ſudden buſineſs. To return to Mr. *Griffith*; No man living ever took a kinder impreſſion then he hath done of his obligations towards you: And it is indeed a piece of his Character, to take the leaſt kind-

kindneſs to heart. He knows all news. You have him now in your hands. And God be between you both.

Your poor Friend ſuiſceratiſſimamente,
H. WOTTON.

To my moſt worthy dear Friend Mr. John Dinely, *Attendant on the young Prince at* Leyden.

From the Colledge the 16. *of* Auguſt, 1629.

My ſweet Jack Dinely,

WE have newly concluded our Anniverſary buſineſs, which hath been the moſt diſtracted Election that I verily believe had ever before been ſeen, ſince this Nurſe firſt gave Milk, through no leſs then four recommendatory, and one mandatory Letter from the King himſelf; beſides interceſſions and meſſengers from divers great Perſonages for Boys both in and out, enough to make us think our ſelves ſhortly Electors of the Empire, if it hold on. Among which confuſions, I did not forget (as I have written to our Royal Miſtreſs) to put Sir *G. Kevets* Son in the head of our Liſt.

After this, which I have truly told you, you cannot well expect many lines from me; for as the Seas require ſome time to ſettle, even when the winds are ceaſed, ſo need our brains after ſuch an agitation; yet ſomewhat I muſt ſay by this Bearer. You have gotten a great intereſt in the whole Family, and in all that touch upon it, by the pains which you have taken, and yet they reſerve themſelves not to be more beholden to you for the introduction, then they hope to be for your di-

direction of him there; though he comes, I can tell you, with ſevere advice from his Uncle, that if ever he be an inch from the eye of the Prince, (unleſs with the Queen) either in time of ſecurity or danger; *Actum eſt*; betweea them. We leave him now to your moulding, as if he were (as he is indeed) to be melt in a new fornace: there is ſpirit enough to work upon, though perchance overſhadowed with ſome rural modeſty; but that among Camps and Courts is now and then too ſoon divelted. I ſhallbe glad to hear how he appeareth *di prima viſta*; as likewiſe of little *Griffith*, after whom I hearken with no leſs affection.

Dum verſer in hac materia: I could wiſh you at ſome times to quicken your *Anthony* here with a line or two; which in *Perſius* phraſe, *Patrnum ſapiant:* Not truly that I perceive any ſlackneſs in him, but you know what our *Italian* Horſemen ſay, *Un Caval del Regno vuol anche gli ſproni.*

We are divided by ſundry reports from you, between hopes and fears, both great; your next will eaſe us: which will find me in *Kent*, whether I am turning my head again for a while, that I may be preſent at my Niece *Stanhope* good time.

My Niece *Heſter* is abſolutely reclaimed from thoſe fooliſh impreſſions which ſhe had taken, Gods Name be ever bleſſed for it; and it is none of the leaſt ends of my going to rivet that buſineſs I hope at the next Term to do ſome wonders for my ſelf; ſo I call them, and ſo they muſt be if I do them: for among Courtiers I am a wonder, as Owls are among gay Birds. Now farewel for the preſent: let us ſtill love one another, and our dear God love us both.

Your trueſt poor Friend, H. W.

I had made it a resolution to my self never to write to the Queen, without somewhat likewise to the King; but understanding that they are now separated, I have this time forborn to trouble him in so noble an action.

To my most dear and worthy Friend Mr. John Dinely, *Secretary to the Queen of* Bohemia.

My dear J. Dinely,

FOr I am loth to lose the possession of our familiarity; you left me here your Letters and your Love *in deposito*, and I have since received other from you, somewhat of a sad complexion, touching the affairs of *Germany* as then they stood: But more newly we hear, that *Barhard* of *Weinmar* doth miracles upon the *Danuby*, the River sometimes of our merry passage.

We wvish in this House (where you have placed me vvith much contentment) that every Mole-hill that he takes vvere a Province; and that the Duke of *Bavaria* vvere not only fled to *Salzburg* (as is voiced) but even to the Capital of *Rome*, and all others vvith him, that adore the purple Beast.

Here vve live in dayly (*sed hoc lentum est*) let me say, in hourly (*quin & illud frigidum*) nay in continual remembrance of our Royal Mistress, the very Triumph of Virtue. I have at the present vvritten to her Majesty, as I shall do often, being novv in the proper place of her addresses, and of such opportunity to expres our zeals, as hath left a lazy Pen no imaginable excuse hereafter.

Through your hand I novv send her my late *Panegyrick*, vvhich I blush to tell you hovv vvell it takes

takes here vvith ſome indulgent and merciful Readers.

The interpretation to her Majeſty of as much therein as concerneth her ſelf, I can commit to no ſpirit more ſweetly, then to yours, vvho are ſo converſant vvith her vertues.

With us here Things ſtand as you left them. Moſt indubitably an infinite affection in the King towards ſo precious an only Siſter: But I know not vvell how our Times vvill ſort vvith your Propoſitions. Yet I hope vvell, as *Abrahame* did, vvhen he vvanted a Sacrifice, *Deus providebit.* And ſo for this time, in confuſed haſt I reſt,

From you know where, *Dec.* 10. 1633.

Your ever vowed poor Friend,

HENRY WOTTON.

I have vvritten to the Queen touching *James Vary*, vvho commits himſelf to your affectionate memory: And vve languiſh for a return from you.

I pray remember my humble ſervice to his Majeſties moſt vvorthy Reſident vvith you, to vvhom and to my Noble Secretary I vvill vvrite by the next occaſion.

SIR,

I Am glad of this opportunity to acquaint you, before your going, vvith the cauſe vvhy Mr. *Avery*'s Son did fail at our late Election.

When the Boy came before us, being asked the ordinary Queſtions, *Quod eſt tibi Nomen? Quot Annos natus es? Quo Anni tempore? Quo Comitatu? Quo*

Quo Oppido? Quave Villa? (To all which his Anſwers muſt remain upon Record in our Indentures of that year, if he be choſen) he ſtopped a little at the two laſt; and then (as if he had meant to ſuffer like a Martyr for the Truth) he told us flatly, That he was born in the Low-Countreys at *Delft*. This retrenched all farther Examination of him; for thereby he was ineligible, our Statutes only admitting the *Engliſh* Shires, with excluſion, not only of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, but even of *Wales*; and much more of any forraign Province. Hereupon we called in his Father, who handſomely skirmiſhed in his behalf, That Children born of *Engliſh* Parents in the Staples of Merchants abroad, were by an Act of *Edw.* the third, habilited to all purpoſes at home, as well as the inward Natives. And thereupon he went and took Counſel o Mr. *Newbury*, Steward of *Windſor*, and no obſcure Lawyer, who did ſet down his Judgement in writing clearly for him, That all Local Statutes are void which are either againſt the Common Law, or againſt a general precedent Statute, as he ſaid this was. Now although we could have been glad all to be left as free as your *Arminians* leave our Will; yet conſidering that our Local Statutes were long after the foreſaid Act of Habilities, and that how invalid ſoever they may appear to ſome other man, yet that they bind us at leaſt in Conſcience, eſpecially after ſo long Cuſtome. Theſe points I ſay conſidered, the laſt good will we could expreſs towards the Father, was to offer him (as I did) to propound the Caſe to my Lord of *Canterbury*, our Viſitor Paramount, and now in Ordinary (the B. of *Lincoln* being in an unviſitable caſe himſelf) that ſo his Grace might relieve him withhis Inter-

pretation: wherein I got the Provoſt of *Kings* to concur with me; and ſo I drew a Letter with all poſſible advantage on his ſide, incloſing therein the favourableſt Branch of our Statutes. This Letter Mr. *Avery* carried to *Croydon* with paternal Affection and Haſt, and brought us back an Anſwer to this ſubſtance; That though his Grace ſhould be heartily willing in reſpect of the Fathers relation to her Majeſty of *Bohemia* (as I had repreſented him) to do any thing for the Child: yet being a binding Precedent againſt Cuſtome he could not ſuddenly determine the Point, being at that time without Civil Lawyers, by whoſe advice his Court was guided: And therefore if we would defer our Election till *Michaelmas*, he would then orderly decide it. But we being by other Statutes bound not to prolong our Election an hour after ſuch a time as was already near ſpent, and to tell you *in Sinu*, being loth to leave our ſelves ſo long upon Interpretation, we gave it over. I underſtand ſince a circumſtance that muſt needs trouble Mr. *Avery* more then the Buſineſs it ſelf: That it failed by his fault, and not the Boyes. For after our Uſher (the Childs Tutor) had inſtructed him, That by no means he ſhould confeſs his forraign Birth, his Father, whom the Boy had not acquainted with his Tutors Inſtruction, not knowing our Statutes, bade his Son anſwer, when he ſhould be asked the laſt Queſtion, That he was born *in Comitatu Hollandiæ*; and ſo the Child truſting his Father more then his Tutor, fell through the Basket.

With this Story I have entertained you at large, becauſe, beſides my zeal towards any thing that our Royal Miſtreſs can wiſh to be done, I was engaged

gaged in a promiſe to your ſelf, vvhom I vvill follow vvith Letters to her Majeſty by the conveyance of Sir *Abra. Williams*, and vvith a little Nuptial Preſent to your ſelf, vvhich you had had vvith you, if a Friend of mine, vvho ſhould have made it ready, had not been skared from *London*. And yet (to ſhew you my poverty) it is only a pair of Sheets vvhich I mean to ſend, vvith this Mark at the corners, *PRO DINLEIANIS*. In the mean vvhile, God hold you and your Love in his Love, vvherein after the uncertain Traverſes of Courts below, dwelleth all Abundance and Infallibility above.

Dictated from my Bed, *Auguſt* 18.

By your ever the ſame affectionate poor Friend,

HENRY WOTTON.

To Mr. John Dinely, *at* Weſtminſter.

SIR,

I Underſtand by your laſt kind lines that you vvere to be at Court as to morrow; ſo as I hope by our next Foot-Poſt to hear the Criſis of that day: and am ſorry to hear in the mean time that your dreams vvere impropitious. We had here taken a voice and ſtrong belief coming from a *Recuſant*, (vvho know many things, and quickly) that the *Infanta* Queen of *France* vvas brought to bed of a *Dolphin*, and not of a Diſtaff. But your Letter ſaying nothing either of the one or of the other, I have ſuſpended my faith.

London is the Ocean of Novelties: Here vve ſpeak of nothing but a certain new Aguiſh diſeaſe, vvhich invadeth many Families, but vvith little mortality.

The Plague at *Dover* is by Gods bleſſing ceaſed, and their Tents taken down. At *Boughton* the Small Pox fallen firſt upon a Chaplain, and after, upon one of the fair Faces, but a *Deering*; vvill keep me, I doubt, from that place: Not that I apprehend any Contagions vvhatſoever (as I think you know) but the Winter coming on, and the Place bleat, a ſmall excuſe vvill ſerve my turn. God ſend you all comfort in your firſt and ſecond ſelf: To vvhoſe goodneſs I leave you, reſting,

From the Pallace
of *Canterbury*,
Auguſt laſt, 1638.

Your moſt affectionate
Alla Suiſcerata,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir,

SIR,

NExt your own and your dear Conſorts health, I languiſh to hear of your firſt reception at Court. For though I ſuppoſe it vvas ſhort, yet vve Philoſophers ſay, that *Principia plus valent virtute quam mole.* Next that, I pray let me know your opinion of the prodigious eſcape of the Queen Mother of *France*, out of the *Spaniſh* clutches to the *Hague*: And vvhether ſhe be *trajectura*, as our right vvorthy Friend Dr. *Doriſlaus* vvriteth me. I am come hither in a very benign Conſtellation, and ſilent conſpiracy of my chiefeſt Friends that have met here at the ſame time; Sir *Edmund Bacon*, Sir *Francis Barnham*, and Sir *Thomas Culpepper*: All, men of ſingular converſation; and ſome of them, though of the ſame County, yet that had not been here in ſeven years before. Of vvhich, my Nephew Sir *Edmund* and my ſelf are to paſs this next vveek under the Roof of my L. Chief Juſtice *Finch*, at his Houſe of *Mote* cloſe by, through his Noble and unreſiſtable Importunity. God keep us in his Love, vvherein is all joy and abundance.

From the Palace by *Canterbury*, this St. *Bartholomew*'s day, 1638.

Your ever moſt affectionate,

HENRY WOTTON.

SIR,

I Send you incloſed the preparation of *Guajacum*, as I have found incomparable benefit thereby. I expect in exchange the Letter touching the Dutcheſs *de Cheureuſe*. I am in great perplexity by hearing no News of *Nicholas Oudard* ſince the firſt of *September Style novo* from *Bruxels*: being that afternoon to go to *Mechelen* vvith a Letter of Authority for his preſent diſpatch; ſo as he vvrote, he vvould either ſend me vvord, if any impediment ſhould intervene; or bring the firſt News himſelf. Beſides, Monſieur *Gerbier* thought his buſineſs in ſo fair a vvay, as he left a Maid there to come over in the company of himſelf, and his Mother. When I lay theſe things together, I can make no good interpretation of it: Yet I vvill not anticipate and prejudge mine own miſhaps, as I ſhould account the loſs of him, vvhom I have trained from a Child. God grant all be vvell. If you could meet vvith Monſieur *Gerbier* and enquire vvhether he hath heard any thing, it vvould much eaſe my heart one vvay or other. And ſo leaving you in the Lords protection, I reſt,

From the Colledge,
Septemb. 26. 1638.

Your true Friend
in omni fortuna,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir,

SIR,

I Was glad for all the private in a late Letter from you, and ſorry for the publick, both forraign, and inward: But I like *Plato*'s counſel vvell; In adverſities to compreſs murmur: For our Providence (ſaith he) is too ſhort to judge, vvhether there may not lye under the outſide of an apparent evil ſome in-imaginable good. The laſt Philoſophy is, *Voluntas tua fiat Domine.* Upon hearing, ſome good vvhile ſince, of the miſadventures in the *Palatine* Houſe; his loſs of *Meppen*, before he had it; the defeat of his Troops, as ſoon as he had gathered them; the taking of his Brother, *&c.* I fell upon a conceit, that perchance theſe unpleaſant things might call over Sir *R. Cave*; the Prince being deſtitute of counſel, and of proper Inſtruments of Action, (for they ſay, *Ferentz* is likewiſe priſoner) And ſo there vvould be room here for your Imployment: vvhich I vvould vviſh you to preſs extreamly. But of this more in my next. I now ſend you an Hogſhead of more then *Seror Tonantis*; and very vvillingly, though ſo long after *March* you take us *Sul baſſo*. But one thing I muſt tell you, that for your Wives Splenetique Infirmity, there is nothing worſe in the world then either ſtrong or ſtale Beer. Now, that we have you out of the Streights and in the Ocean (as you call it) both of novelties as well as of other things, *Matthew Saye* ſhall have order to call upon you at leaſt once a week. And for the preſent I leave you in his Love that never faileth: remaining,

From the Colledge this *Thurſday* morning, 1638.

Your very truly affectionate,
HENRY WOTTON.

SIR,

BEtween you and me Complemental Letters are as needleſs and improper, as I hope, the proviſions of Armour in the Tower will be. As for Novelties of State, you are in the Center, and we rural Wights in the Circumference, and Skirts, entertained with nothing but ſome cold iceſickles and droppings from you *Londoners*: Imagine us therefore to ſtand gaping for the return of the Lord Marqueſs. In the mean while I ſhould be glad to know in what quality my Nephew Colonel *Morton* is imployed towards the North; for I hear of one Serjeant Major *Thelwel* in more noiſe. And ſo intending (as ſoon as it can be ready) to entertain you with a ſtrange Collar of Brawn, I reſt,

This *Epiphany*, 1638.

Ever your own,

HENRY WOTTON.

Sir,

SIR,

MY Pen hath not converſed with you for *certe Gite* of our Boat a pretty while; not wanting affection, but matter. You are in the Center of Novelties. God ſend all well, as I have no doubt it will be at laſt. I am within ſome few weeks tending to my *Genial* Soyl at *Bonghton Malherb*; and thence about by *Redgrave* I ſhall make a Circle hither again, taking perchance both Univerſities in my Line homewards. You married men are deprived of theſe evagations. While we ſtand in a little ſuſpenſe touching the event of inward Affairs; I am glad to hear from abroad in the High *Dutch* Gazette, that there is a Treaty of Exchange in hand between Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Caſimir* of *Poland*, whom the *Swedes* have in cuſtody. Methinks, it is a pretty balanced intention, and of no improbable iſſue; the King of *Hungaria* (*aliàs* Emperor) growing every day lower, and lower. I deſire much to know how your vertuous Conſort ſtandeth in her health, and how your ſelf proceedeth in your hopes; reſting,

From the Colledge,
Feb. 21. 1638.

Semper, Semper Tuus,

HENRY WOTTON.

Cha-

Charissime,

I Am sorry to hear of new Oaths in *Scotland* between the Covenanters, vvho they say will have none but *Jesus Christ* to reign over them: A Sacred Cover of the deepest Impiety. God open their eyes, and soften their hearts. I have read a good part of the *Declaration*, wherein the Dean of *Durhams* Pen doth well appear: and the whole business is very black. Never was there such a stamping and blending of Rebellion and Religion together. I thank you for your news touching Prince *Rupert*; but I fear the *Hungarian* King will hold him too fast. To your Question about mine own Remove, it vvill be towards the ending of this vveek for a night or two to *London*; so as I hope to save you the labour of journeying hither. My Lodging, if it be not prepossessed, will be at Mr. *Alkinds* House in the *Strand*, or otherwise peradventure vvith your Friend in *Lombard-street*, vvhereof you shall have notice in time.

I am yours every where,

From the Colledge
April 21. 1639.

H. WOTTON.

SIR,

SIR,

I ſhould be ſorry for your departure towards our Royal Miſtreſs, before ſome ſhort meeting at leaſt between us: for I have much diſcourſe to unlade in your honeſt breſt; and I can tell you, vve had need lay up diſcourſe ſafely; vvhich I hope you vvill take for ſome excuſe of my ſeldome vvriting unto you: for I ſuſpect a certain natural freedom in mine own Pen.

In the *Scottiſh* Affairs, it is one myſtery, that we know not what to believe. Only this we can ſay, That there is nothing to be praiſed in it on their part; and I could wiſh, there were as little to be feared on ours. *Deus operatur omnia ſuaviter:* And to his Power and Mercy vve muſt leave our ſelves.

Your ever faithful poor Friend,

From the Colledge
April 17. 1639. H. WOTTON.

Sir, My Coach-man is yet craſie, from a late great ſickneſs; but if it pleaſe you to ſpecifie the time of your conveniency, my Geldin ſhall vvait upon you at *Branford*; *A poinct nommé.*

SIR,

SIR,

I long novv to hear of nothing more then a little *Deynleiolus*; and if it prove of another Gender in Grammer, then let Philoſophy comfort you, that ſays, It is Natures method to begin *ab Imperfectiori*: But by my contemplation of your own, and your Wives complexion, and of her late ſickneſs, I ſhould imagine that *Fortior pars trahet ſexum.*

We are ſorry to hear that the *Scottiſh* Gentlemen, vvho have been lately ſent to that King, found (as they ſay) but a bruſk vvelcome; vvhich makes all fear, that there may be a rebullition in that buſineſs.

We have a nevv ſtrange voice flying here, that the Prince *Palatine* is towards a Marriage.

I apprehend much the event of your new Ambaſſage from the States, being carried by a man who hath had his vvhole fortune out of *France*; but the vviſdom of the Inſtrument may mollifie all. I ſhould be glad to knovv, vvhether his Son-in-law *Conſtantinus Hugeinus* be in his company. Laſtly, I ſhould be glad to hear that you are *un tantino* promoved in your own ends; for vvhen the firſt vvay is plained, all will go ſmoothly. Let us howſoever love one another, and God love us both.

Your poor Friend,

H. WOTTON.

A

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